

THE QUEST

A Quarterly Review.

Edited by G. R. S. Mead.

The Quest Reprint Series.

No. II.

The Sacred Dance in Christendom.

- i. The Sacred Dance of Jesus.
- ii. Ceremonial Game-Playing and Dancing.
- iii. Ceremonial Dances and Symbolic Banquets.

By THE EDITOR.

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THE QUEST.

THE QUEST welcomes contributions which exemplify the investigation and comparative study of religion, philosophy and science as complementary to one another in aiding the search for that reality which alone can give complete satisfaction. It desires to promote enquiry into the nature of religious and other supranormal experiences and the means of testing their value, to strengthen the love of wisdom which stimulates all efforts to formulate a practical philosophy of life, and to emphasize the need of a vital science to crown and complete the discoveries of physical research. It also invites contributions which treat of the purpose of art and the expression of the ideal in forms of beauty; and in literature interests itself in works of inspiration and of genial imagination.

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THE SACRED DANCE IN CHRISTENDOM.

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THE QUEST REPRINT SERIES.

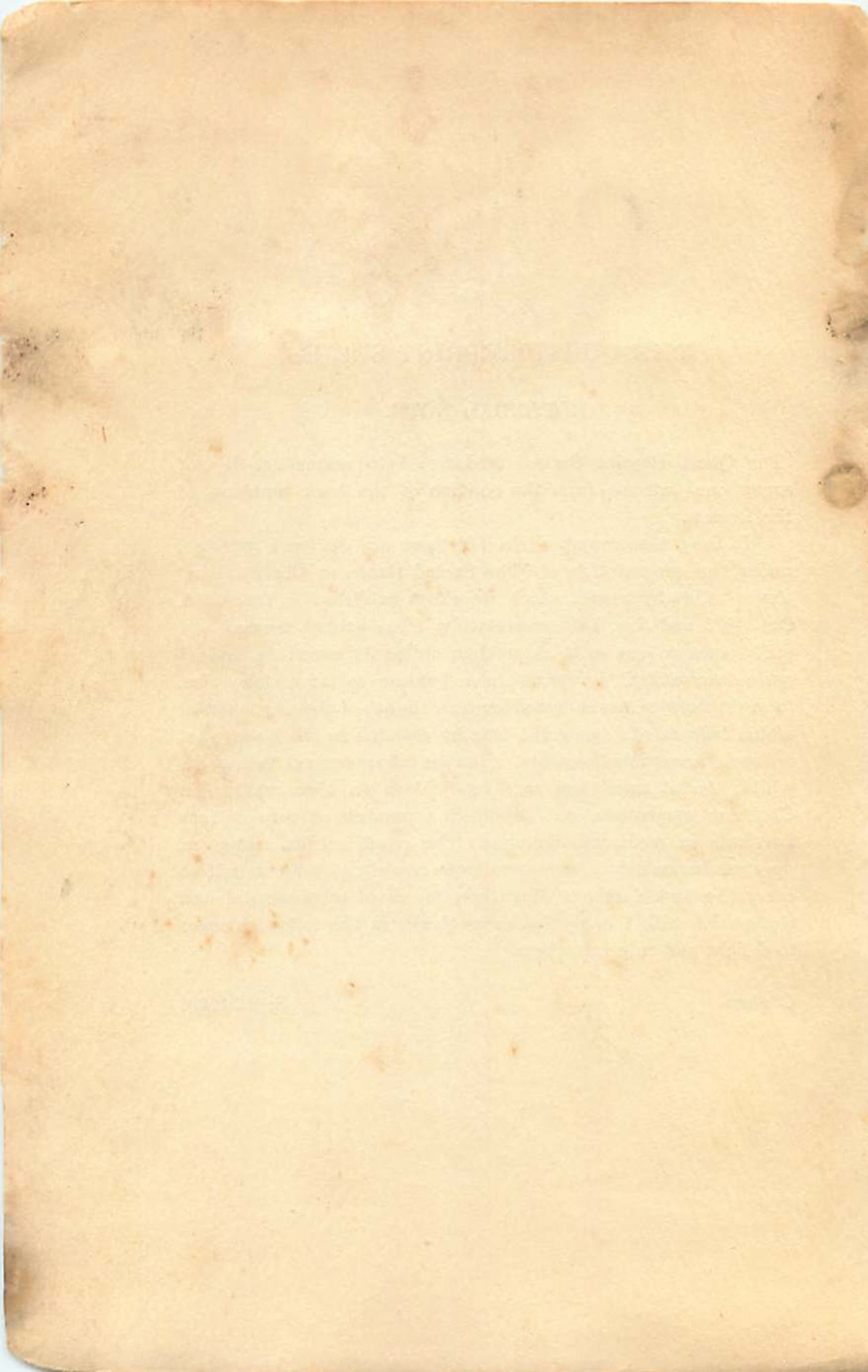
EDITORIAL NOTE.

'The Quest Reprint Series' is designed to rescue articles of exceptional interest from the oblivion of the back numbers of the Review.

In the present number (No. II.) there are gathered together, under the general title of 'The Sacred Dance in Christendom,' three studies by myself, which were first published in Oct. 1910, Oct. 1912 and Jan. 1913 respectively. The subject seemed and still seems to me to be more than ordinarily arresting, indeed quite fascinating. I reprint them, because so far no one else, to my knowledge, has collected together the out-of-the-way material which follows. It demanded lengthy research in the by-ways of not easily accessible literature. But the labour seemed well worth while; for it unearthed rare information on high matters in Christian symbolism, and disclosed a number of very curious survivals in mediæval churches. The republication, moreover, may perchance induce some one more competent than myself to carry the task further. Meantime, lovers of the beautiful and the quaint will, I hope, find some things in the following pages to delight and entertain them.

Chelsea.

Sept., 1926.



THE SACRED DANCE OF JESUS.

G. R. S. MEAD, B.A.

NONE, therefore, of the things that they will say about me did I suffer; nay, even that Passion which I showed unto thee and to the rest in the Dance, I will that it be called a mystery.—*Acta Ioannis*, 101 (15).

1. To-morrow shall be my dancing day;
I would my true love did so chance
To see the legend of my play,
To call my true love to my dance.

Sing, oh! my love, oh! my love, my love, my love,
This have I done for my true love.

2. Then was I born of a Virgin pure,
Of her I took fleshly substance;
Then was I knit to man's nature,
To call my true love to my dance.

Sing, oh! etc.

3. In a manger laid and wrapp'd I was,
So very poor, this was my chance,
Betwixt an ox and a silly¹ poor ass,
To call my true love to my dance.

Sing, oh! etc.

4. Then afterwards baptized I was,
The Holy Ghost on me did glance,
My Father's voice heard from above,
To call my true love to the dance.

Sing, oh! etc.

¹ Meaning 'simple.'

5. Into the desert I was led,
Where I fasted without substance ;
The Devil bade me make stones my bread,
To have me break my true love's dance.
Sing, oh ! etc.
6. The Jews on me they made great suit,
And with me made great variance,
Because they lov'd darkness rather than light,¹
To call my true love to the dance.
Sing, oh ! etc.
7. For thirty pence Judas me sold,
His covetousness for to advance ;
Mark when² I kiss, the same do hold,
The same is he shall lead the dance.
Sing, oh ! etc.
8. Before Pilate the Jews me brought,
When Barabbas had deliverance ;
They scourg'd me and set me at nought,
Judged me to die to lead the dance.
Sing, oh ! etc.
9. Then on the cross hang'd I was ;
Where a spear to my heart did glance,
There issued forth both water and blood,
To call my true love to the dance.
Sing, oh ! etc.
10. Then down to Hell I took my way
For my true love's deliverance,
And rose again on the third day
Up to my true love and the dance.
Sing, oh ! etc.
11. Then up to Heaven I did ascend,
Where now I dwell in sure substance
On the right hand of God, that man
May come unto the general dance.
Sing, oh ! etc.

¹ Better : 'For they lov'd darkness more than light.'

² Presumably 'whom.'

At first sight the words of this delightfully quaint and perhaps unique Christmas carol will probably surprise the majority of readers, and in some cases even give a shock to their sense of propriety; indeed, at this late hour, when so much has been forgotten, the association of dancing in any shape or form with the sacred person of Jesus cannot but appear to most puritanical minds as little better than an outrage. The purpose of this study, however, is to show that other days had other views, other customs, other traditions; that, in fact, the idea of a sacred dance—a heavenly carol or chorus—of utmost holiness goes back to the earliest times of Christianity.

Our carol was still sung by the peasants in W. Cornwall, when recorded by William Sandys,¹ some eighty years ago. Sandys apparently knew nothing of its tradition or origin, and so far I have myself been unable to obtain any information on its more immediate ancestry.²

It is very evident that this carol cannot be dismissed as a folk-creation pure and simple; it bears all the marks of a nobler genealogy. Apart from the question of its origin proper, I would venture to conjecture for the first stage of its descent into folk-form, the intermediary of the mediæval minstrels, jongleurs, troubadours, etc., who are indeed said to be the very inventors of the name *carole*,³ the thing itself being far more ancient as we shall see later on. Now the Trou-

¹ *Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1833), pp. 110-112; reprinted in his *Christmastide, its History, Festivities and Carols* (London, ? 1852), pp. 266 ff.

² Information has been asked for in *Notes and Queries* (Mar. 10, 1910), in *Folk-lore* (xxi. i, Mar., 1910), and also in the last number of *THE QUEST*, but so far without result.

³ *Carole* was "the name given by the Trouvères to a dance in which the performers moved slowly in a circle, singing as they went."—Lilly Grove, *Dancing* (London, 1895), p. 181.

vères, or Troubadours, we have good reason to believe, adapted, and so preserved in popular form, many scraps and fragments of old mystery-traditions still floating about in the middle ages, the history of the descent and the origin of which still baffles the ingenuity of scholars.¹ The original meaning of *carol* is given by all the authorities as a (? sacred) 'ring-dance,' men and women holding each others' hands; its derivation, though in much dispute,² is most probably from the Greek *chorós*, and what that signified we shall see as we proceed.

Setting aside, for the moment, the denunciations and prohibitions of disorderly lay dancing at the sacred festivals and even in the divine offices, by fathers, councils and synods, from the post-Constantine period onwards—that is, beginning about the middle of the fourth century, we know that with the Renaissance the idea of sacred dancing re-emerged in great strength, and we find Dante making free use of it. In a recent lecture Mr. Edmund G. Gardner has surmised that the symbolical dancing in the *Paradiso* may have been suggested by the *Dieta Salutis* (or *Life of Salvation*), traditionally ascribed to S. Bonaventura, but to be attributed with greater probability to another Franciscan, Gulielmus de Lavicea or de Lanicia. In those days, however, the links with the past were more numerous than they are to-day, and it would be unwise to lay too much stress on any particular of the fragmentary indications now accessible being the source of Dante's inspiration. Nevertheless the *Dieta* deserves

¹ I have suggested a similar back-ground for the variants of the curious carol 'Over yonder's a Park' or 'Down in yon Forest'; it seems to link up by means of the Troubadours with the German cycle of Graal-literature, in which the sacred hallow is the Stone of Alchemy, and this Stone "that is no stone," was, as we are told by Zosimos, the Alchemist and Poemandrist, at the end of the fourth century, no other than the prime mystery of Mithras. See the Folk-Song Society's *Journal*, iv. 14 (June, 1910).

² See Murray's Oxford Dictionary.

to be quoted, for it marks out the bed of one of the streamlets of that great river of mystical tradition which watered the plains of mediæval theology, and which was incorrectly labelled with the pseudonym 'Dionysius the Areopagite.' The Renaissance brought back to the West more than the memory of secular classical learning; it also awoke in the Occidental Church the reminiscence of some sacred things that had long been forgotten.

In its last chapter,¹ the *Dicta Salutis* treats 'Of the Joys of Paradise,' and describes "the most delightful company abiding there, in celestial glory, in the Divine Presence." This '*amantissima societas*' is characterised as (1) a company too vast to number, (2) in endless circling (*i.e.* dancing in rhythmic revolution with the heavenly spheres), and (3) singing a ceaseless song of praise too glorious for mortal comparison. "Blessed in sooth is that dance (*chorea*), whose company is infinity, whose circling is eternity, whose song is bliss."

Firstly, in that celestial dance we must think of a company, an army infinite,—that is to say, known not to us but unto God alone. For there is Christ the King,—as though sole sovereign excellent, and august Cæsar. There also is the Queen with all her maidens,—Virgin of virgins, Mary with all her saintly maids. The Angels too are there,—as highest nobles of the Kingly house. There are the Patriarchs and there the Prophets,—as though ranked next the Angels, and Counsellors of the King, to whom as elders of a cabinet not privy to Him, He doth reveal His ministry. There also the Apostles,—as the King's seneschals, store-keepers of the plenitude of piety. The Martyrs too are there,—as the most active warriors of the King. There also are the holy Pontiffs, and Confessors and the Doctors.

And, secondly, in that celestial dance we must think of a

¹ Cap. l. The latest edition accessible to me of this *Golden Booklet* (*Aureus Libellus*), as the sub-title names it, was printed at Venice, in 1518; see ff. cxv. ff.

circling without end. For ever will there be among the Blest an entering in, a going forth and a return,—an entering in to contemplate His godhood, a going forth to see the various phases of our Saviour's manhood. . . . And as in other dances there is one who leadeth the whole dance, so doth the Christ [this sacred circling]; 'tis He who will be leader of the dance, leading that company most blessed and preceding it. . . .

Thirdly, in that celestial dance we must think of a wondrous ceaseless song. And therefore mark, that as Christ leads in dance (*gressu*), so doth He lead in song. And first of all unto His Virgin Mother will He sing, etc.

Christ, the Chorus-leader, the Tenth or Perfect Number, sings to all nine choirs in turn, and they sing back to Him their chants of praise in antiphon. Whence came this tradition of the Christ's most sacred dance? Before we can answer the question, we must review briefly the attitude of the post-Constantine official Church to dancing, and point out that in the very denunciations and prohibitions of Pagan dancing and of dancing-abuses among the Christians themselves at sacred festivals and in the sacred buildings, by later fathers, councils and synods, there was ever the recognition of a spiritual dance, led by the Saviour and shared in by archangels and angels and powers, and all the companies of saints, while some of the early fathers bear direct testimony to institutional rites connected with this mystery. To show the need of a more thorough-going treatment of the subject, however, we will preface this review with the following inadequate and (as to early history) misleading summary of Chambers,¹ as the best so far available.

¹ Chambers (E. K.), *The Mediæval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), i. 161 f. Mrs. Lilly Grove is nearer fact in the first part of her statement, but mistaken in the last part of it, when she writes (*op. cit.* p. 8): "In the first centuries of our era the Church allowed dancing within the sacred walls; then came a period of degradation of the art, till it found its renaissance in Italy in the sixteenth century. Thence it was introduced to the French court by Catherine de' Medici."

The dance had been from the beginning a subject of controversy between Christianity and the Roman world;¹ but whereas the dances of the East and South, so obnoxious to the Early Fathers, were mainly those of professional entertainers, upon the stage or at banquets, the missionaries of the West had to face the even more difficult problem of a folk-dance and a folk-song which were among the most inveterate habits of the freshly converted peoples. As the old worship vanished, these tended to attach themselves to the new. Upon great feasts and wake-days, choruses of women invaded with wanton *cantica* and *ballationes* the precincts of the churches and even the sacred buildings themselves, a desecration against which generation after generation of ecclesiastical authorities were fain to protest.² . . . The struggle was a long one, and in the end the Church never quite succeeded even in expelling the dance from its doors. The chapter of Wells about 1338 forbade *choreæ* and other *ludi* within the cathedral and cloisters. . . . A seventeenth century French writer [*sci.* Ménestrier] records that he had seen clergy and singing boys dancing at Easter in the churches of Paris, and other astounding survivals.³ At Seville, as is well known, the six boys, called *los Seises*, dance with castanets before the Holy Sacrament in the presence of the Archbishop at Shrovetide, and during the feasts of the Immaculate Conception and Corpus Christi. At Echternach, in Luxembourg, there is an annual dance through the church of pilgrims to the shrine of St. Willibrord,⁴ while at Barjols, in Provence, a 'triple dance' is danced at Mass on St. Marcel's day.

¹ A very imperfect list of patristic references is appended.

² There follows a well-referenced note on the decrees of councils and synods against these abuses, which may, however, be supplemented by Böhme (F. M.), *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1886), i. 15 ff.

³ Cp. the anonymous writer of *Le Livre de Philon, de la Vie contemplative* (Paris, 1709): "The dance is not forbidden in itself; it is only the bad use that has frequently been made of it," which has brought it into disrepute. "The Jews and early Judæo-Christians . . . regarded it as authorised by the greatest Saints of the Old Testament" (p. 251). "Indeed we see that the Roman Church, so careful to exclude from the churches everything unworthy of Christian gravity and modesty, allows the united Armenians certain usages closely resembling those of the ancient Meletians, and that, too, in Rome under the very eyes of the Pontiff. I saw these rites myself" (p. 255). Then follows a description of them. As Meletius was quite orthodox, the reference must be to the general custom of the churches (both Athanasian and Arian) at Antioch, of which Meletius was bishop; this we shall see more clearly later on, p. 57.

⁴ Add to C.'s references here 'Dancing in Churches,' by Rev. John Morris, in *The Month* (Dec., 1892), lxxvi. 342, pp. 498-518.

I have searched in vain through the literature of the history of dancing,¹ for the proper patristic indications of liturgical dancing in the Early Church. Without exception the historians of dancing base themselves, in this particular, directly or indirectly, on the curious work of the Jesuit Father Ménestrier (Paris, 1682), who was a great enthusiast for symbolical dancing, and arranged a number of such ballets for the French court. It will, therefore, be *à propos* to translate a few passages from this rare and interesting work; for P. Ménestrier states his views so categorically that they must have been not only in keeping with the learned opinion of his day, but also favourably regarded by his ecclesiastical superiors. His historical and archæological statements, however, can neither be used with confidence nor dismissed with prejudice; the whole subject requires thorough revision. In his unpagged Preface Ménestrier writes:

The divine office was made up of psalms, hymns and canticles,

¹ I append the pertinent items of my bibliographical notes to save others from a like fruitless search: Vuiller (G.), *A History of Dancing* (Eng. Trans., London, 1908), ii. 46-49, 'Religious Dancing'—copies Ménestrier; Benson (R. H.), *Papers of a Pariah* (London, 1907), pp. 106-126, 'On the Dance as a Religious Exercise'—associates it with the ceremony of the Mass, but gives no references; Lilly Grove, *Dancing* (London, 1895), p. 96—copies M.; Desrat (G.), *Dictionnaire de la Danse* (Paris, 1895)—follows M., there is a useful bibliography at end; Böhme (F. M.), *Geschichte des Tanzes* (Leipzig, 1886)—copies M., contains a good bibliography; Voss (R.), *Der Tanz und seine Geschichte* (Berlin, 1869)—copies M.; Czerwinski (A.), *Geschichte der Tanzkunst* (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 33 ff., 'Kirchentänze'—copies M.; Barthélemy (C.), *Rational . . . des Divins Offices de Guillaume Durand* (Paris, 1854), ii. 438-444, 'La Danse au point de vue Liturgique'—lifted verbally from De Cahusac without acknowledgment; B. translated the thirteenth century Bishop Durandus' *De Divinis Officiis*, and appended notes, there is nothing in D. himself on liturgical dancing; Baron (A.), *Lettres . . . sur la Danse* (Paris, 1824), pp. 19 f., 'De la Danse religieuse chez les Juifs et les Chrétiens'—draws on M.; Castil-Blaze, *La Danse et les Ballets* (Paris, 1832), ch. ii., 'Dances des Chrétiens'—lifted from M. with mistakes; De Cahusac (M.), *La Danse ancienne et moderne* (La Haye, 1754), i. 41 ff., 'De la Danse Sacrée des Chrétiens'—copies M.; Ménestrier (F. K.—S. J.), *Des Ballets anciens et modernes* (Paris, 1682). Desrat says that Ménestrier drew some of his material from Paradin (G.), *Le Blason des Danses* (Beaujeau, 1566—reprinted by Firmin-Didot in 1830); but there is, unfortunately, no copy of this small work in the British Museum.

for the praises of God were recited, sung and danced. . . . The place where these religious acts were performed in divine worship was called the choir,¹ just as with the tragic and comic *chori* of the Greeks. In Latin the prelates were called *præsules*,² from *præsiliendo*, according to Scaliger, for in the choir, at the divine office, they played the same part as the leader of the dances in the public games, who was called by the Greeks *choragus*.³

In course of time, Father Ménestrier continues, owing to abuses these sacred dances, together with the love-feasts and the custom of the kiss of peace, were abolished. In the body of his treatise, he returns to the name *choir*, which, he says (p. 12), still marks out the place where "our priests sing and perform their ceremonies." In ancient times, however, he continues, the choir was separated from the altar, and raised up so as to form a theatre, being enclosed on all sides by a breast-high screen, and in confirmation he points to the ancient choirs of this form still to be seen in the churches of SS. Clement and Pancras at Rome. I have in vain searched the histories of ecclesiastical architecture for further information; nothing at all seems to be known of church-structure prior to the second half

¹ From Gk. *chorós*. The earliest meaning of *chorós* in Homer is a closed space for processional or circular dancing, later called *orchestra* (Reisch, art. 'Chor,' in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enc.*); it was used at an early date for the dance itself, for a band that danced and sang, and for poems so sung (Castets, art. 'Chœur,' Darenberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiqq.*); the Dithyrambic *chori* were cyclic, while the Tragic and Comic were square (Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, s.v.); according to Suidas, *choreta* was dancing accompanied with song, whereas *orchēsis* was silent dancing (J. C. Suicerus, *Thesaurus Ecc.*, 2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1728, ii. 516). But in course of time *chorós* grew to mean any company of people, or guild or fraternity, gathered together for a religious or even a secular purpose; by the Church fathers it was used for the angels, etc., for the disciples and the various orders of Church dignitaries, and for monastic brotherhoods, etc.; while Eusebius rhetorically transfers the ecclesiastical use to the various grades of the court of the Emperor Constantine.

² The priests of the ancient Roman dancing guild of the *Salii* were so called because they led the dance (*præsiliere*) in public.

³ This should be *coryphæus*; *chorēgos* was the patron or manager who undertook the cost of the chorus.

of the fourth century, when, after the 'cæsarising' of the Church by Constantine, the Pagan temples began to be destroyed and magnificent Christian structures replaced them. That, however, there was some connection between the plans of church and theatre is indubitable; for the custom of the Early Church was loudly to applaud the preacher as at the play, while our English 'parson' is nothing but the Latin *persona* (a 'mask,' hence 'actor'), and our 'pulpit' is the Latin *pulpitum* (or 'stage').

If now we turn to the indications in the fathers, working backwards (and reserving to the end the important testimony of Eusebius, the enthusiastic singer of the praise of Constantine and the father of church history), we find that the patristic denunciations of irregular dancing break out in a flood precisely about the same critical period, the second half of the fourth century.

Theodoret (c. 390 — ? 455), writing of the angels, says that they are immortal incorporeal beings, whose nature transcends sex; their work is "dancing in heaven and hymnody of their Creator."¹ Here the distinction between dancing (*choreia*) and singing is clearly drawn. So also, in writing of the martyrs, he advises his readers to follow them, that they may share in "their dance in the indestructible æons";² for unto them that believe hath been promised "the kingdom of the heavens, and life that hath no end, and light intelligible, and to dance in company with those free of all body."³ Elsewhere speaking of Paul ("I know a man," etc.), Theodoret continues, "for he had seen the beauty of Paradise, and the dances of the holy ones therein, and the voice of

¹ *Græc. Affect. Cur.* iii. ('De Ang.'), Migne, iv. 892 B.

² *Ib.* iv. ('De Mart'); M. iv. 1033 B.

³ *Ib.* xi. ('De Fine'); M. iv. 1121 C.

their hymnody and perfect harmony";¹ and referring to the Song of the Blessed Children ("*Benedicite . . . angeli Domini Domino*") in *Daniel*, he says that "they summon to the dance both heaven, and the waters above the heavens, and the powers that circle round the divine throne";² not only so, but the flames of the burning fiery furnace were turned into dew, "so that those Blessed Children danced the dance in their midst, and sang the hymn."³ The sacred dance is a dance of the virtues in harmony with the powers above; and so Theodoret tells us of Pelagius, that he caused Continence and her sister-virtues to stand up in him and danced with them.⁴ In general it may be said that the idea of the sacred dance dominated Theodoret's thought and strongly influenced his vocabulary; he speaks of the *chorēta* of the stars and of the seasons, of the *choroi* of the disciples, apostles, patriarchs, prophets and martyrs, and of the ecclesiastical grades, while in treating of the ascetic life he frequently uses *chorós* as the technical term for the body of brethren of a monastic order. His most striking phrase is the 'general dance,'⁵ of which our carol (11, 4) is curiously reminiscent.

On the other hand, Augustine (354—430) is more intent on inveighing against "frivolous and unseemly" dances, on the suppression of which, he tells us, all bishops were agreed,⁶ than in informing us what kind of dancing was permissible. He does not, however, object to dancing at the sacred festivals altogether, but to the "wanton and unseemly songs (*cantica*) . . .

¹ *Int. II. Ep. ad Cor.* xii.; M. iii. 448 D. ² *In. Vis. Dan.* iii. 57; M. ii. 1337.

³ *Int. Jonæ Proph.* Arg.; M. ii. 1721. ⁴ *Ecc. Hist.* iv. 12; M. iii. 1148 B.

⁵ *Serm. in S. Io. Chrys.* Proœm. (Auct. ex Phot. Bib. 278); M. iv. The general references will be found in the index to Migne.

⁶ *C. Ep. Parm.* iii. 6; M. ix. 107.

and dances (*ballationes* and *saltationes*)" before the very doors of the church; these are all Pagan customs, he avers.¹ Not only so, but the same abuses had crept into the ceremonies held at the tombs of the martyrs; the greatest scandals had occurred at the tomb of S. Cyprian († 258), on whose feast-day singing and dancing were kept up the whole night. Augustine's is the spirit of a reformer and not of an historian; and so we find the traditionalists supported the custom by quoting against him the saying of the Lord (*Matth.* xi. 17 = *Lk.* vii. 27): "We have piped unto you and ye have not danced," which most of the reforming fathers are at great pains to interpret in a more spiritual sense. Thus Augustine avers that "the piper is the teacher; the dancer he who carries out what is taught"; that Cyprian heard Christ "piping, and let himself be seen as dancing not with his body, but with his mind."²

Chrysostom (c. 347—407) chiefly inveighs against disorderly dancing and singing at marriages; marriage is a sacred mystery, he says, the type of a still greater mystery of supreme love, as Paul declares (*Ephes.* v. 32): "The mystery is great: but I speak in regard of Christ and the Church."³ There was, however a holy dance and song. In the church at Antioch, he tells us, there was a sacred all-night festival, a *chorostasia*, in imitation of the angelic dance and ceaseless hymnody of the Creator. "Above, the angelic hosts sing hymns of praise; below, in the churches, men in-choired faithfully mimic them with the very same praise-service. Above, the Seraphim chant forth the hymn Trisagion; below, the mortal crowd re-echo it above. Of those in heaven

¹ *Ser.* cclxv. 4; M. v. 2239.

² *Serm.* cccxi. vi. 6 (iii. 'In Nat. Cyp. Mart.'): M. v. 1416.

³ *Cap.* iv. *Hom.* xii. ('In Ep. ad Coloss.'): M. xi. 387; cp. also *Hom.* xx. ('In Ep. ad Ephes.' v.); M. xi. 145.

and those upon the earth a unison is made,—one general assembly, one single service of thanksgiving, one single transport of rejoicing, one joyous dance.”¹ But there was much excess and abuses of a revivalistic nature; even at the holy eucharist the faithful still gesticulated with their hands, danced with their feet, flung the whole body about, and spoke with tongues (glossolaly), so that Chrysostom upbraids them with introducing the manners of mimes and dancers at the holy table itself.² This must have been the custom of the church of Antioch from the very beginning, the tradition being kept up unbroken in the face of Paul’s admonitions; Chrysostom was apparently the first to endeavour to reform it. There evidently was much heart-burning over the question, for the traditionalists quoted against the reformers, *Ps.* lxx. 1 (“Send forth cries of joy to the Lord, all the earth!”), where the first word of the LXX. translation is *alaláxate*, and was evidently used by the traditionalists (through the word-play *á-lalos*) to support their *glosso-lalia*. Chrysostom replies that he does not prohibit sensible words and decent gestures, but meaningless cries and unseemly motions;³ while elsewhere at great length he explains that it was David who first established the chanting of psalms with music, dancing and singing.⁴ He points to the church-pictures which represent David “surrounded with his *chori* of prophets, who in manifold modes and figures represent the passion and resurrection of the Saviour’s humanity. . . . These are the *chori* of the prophets led by David, with divers instruments sing-

¹ *In illud, vidi Dom.* Hom. i. 1; M. vi. 1. 97; for *chorostasia* as a service of dance, cp. Basil, i. 76 c. (B. ed.).

² *Ib.* 2; M. 99. ³ *Ib.* 3; M. 101.

⁴ *Proœm. in Ps.*; M. v. 532 f.; it is, however, somewhat doubtful whether C. wrote this interesting treatise.

ing and playing and dancing to the glory of God, the cl. psalms inspired by the Holy Spirit." Addressing the churches of Antioch, in another treatise, Chrysostom contrasts their mode of keeping the New Year's spiritual festival with what he calls the Pagan feast of Satan; they, the Christians, he says, had spent the best part of the day "drunk with a drunkenness replete with continence, dancing with Paul."¹ They had danced spiritual dances in decent order, had shared in the cup overflowing with spiritual doctrine, and made themselves pipes and harps for the Holy Spirit to play on.² This can hardly be simple rhetoric, seeing how he elsewhere upbraids the Christians for excess in these matters, but rather points to an attempt to regulate what had become disorderly; and so, in yet another attack on Pagan dancing, Chrysostom says that God has not given us feet for such dancing, "but that we may dance with the angels."³

Equally so the reformer Ambrose (bishop, 374—397) warns his flock at Milan against adopting the general interpretation of the saying "We have piped unto you"; the saying is common, but not so the mystery. The dancing desired of the Lord is the dance of David before the Ark. Dancing should not be the companion of 'delight' but of 'grace.'⁴ Again, Gregory of Nyssa (c. 325—395) has precisely the same interpretation of this saying, and the same reference to David; dancing signifies "intense joy," and David "by the rhythmic motions of his body thus showed in public his inner

¹ A number of sayings of Paul as to 'running,' etc., were used by the traditionalists in support of liturgical dancing; cp. Böhme, *op. cit.* p. 15.

² *Herm.* in *Lazar.* i.; M. i. 963. ³ In *Matth. Hom.* xlviii. 3; M. vii. 494.

⁴ *De Penit.* ii. 6; M. 508; cp. p. 66 below concerning 'Grace' in the 'Hymn of Jesus.'

state of soul."¹ So also Gregory of Nazianzen tells us that the dance is a mystery; the dance of David before the ark, he thinks, typifies the dancing of "that swift course of revolution manifold ordained by God."² And lastly Basil, of the reformers, bids a fallen virgin remember the "angelic dance round God, the spiritual life in the flesh, and the celestial constitution on earth";³ he also refers to the saying "We have piped unto you," and tells us that every sacred prophet is symbolically called a 'pipe,' because of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; the words of the prophets "induce in us the rhythmic working of holy prophecy, which is called dancing."⁴

Such are the indications of what we may call the reform-movement of the fathers of the fourth century. Turning now to the third century, we find Gregory Thaumaturgus (c. 233—270) declaring on the Feast of the Annunciation: "To-day Adam is renewed and dances with the angels, soaring to heaven"; and again: "The Kingdom above hastens to call the heavenly minded to join the divine liturgy of the incorporeal choirs"—where the *chori* must refer to dancing. For he speaks of Eve, the first virgin, dancing alone in Paradise before the *logos* of the Serpent, the Origin of evil, entered into her; and of the babe leaping in the womb of Elizabeth (*Lk.* i. 40, 41) as a symbol of the wonder of the dance.⁵ He further puts in the mouth of John the Baptist the following address to the Jordan: "Dance with me Jordan river, and leap with me, and set thy waves in rhythm; for thy Maker has come to thee in body. Once didst thou behold Israel

¹ *In Eccles.* Hom. vi. 4; M. i. 709 c. ² *Or.* v. ('C. Jul.' ii.); M. i. 309 F.

³ *Ep.* xlv. 2; M. iv. 372. ⁴ Hom. in Ps. xxix.; M. i. 321.

⁵ Hom. i. ('In Ann. S. V. M.'), M. x. 1145, 48 A, D, and ii., M. 1165 A.

passing through thee, and thou didst divide thy waves and didst stand waiting till the people passed."¹ In the same century, Origen (c. 185—? 254), in his criticism of Celsus, says that the Christians sing hymns to God and His Alone-begotten as do "sun and moon and planets," and the whole heavenly host. This divine *chorós* sings praise together with the righteous on earth;² the *chorostátēs* of the Christians is Christ, "who sways his whole world with the word of his teaching."³ That this *chorós* refers to dancing as well as singing is clear from his second reference to the "sun and moon and choir of stars";⁴ while elsewhere Origen prays above all things that we may have made active in us that sublime power—namely, the mystery "of the stars dancing in heaven for the salvation of the universe."⁵ Moreover, Origen interprets the dancing of the daughter of Herodias allegorically, as the dance of that evil opinion which dances with the world of generation and pleases its ruler (Herod), and so kills the prophetic life, that holy dance referred to in the saying: "We have piped unto you."⁶

The same language is also used by Clement of Alexandria (c. 155—? 211), Origen's teacher, when he writes: "For that which is still blind and dumb, that is without understanding and the fearless piercing vision of the soul that joys in contemplation, that vision which the Saviour alone imparts,—just as those who have not yet been initiated in the mysteries or

¹ Hom. iv. ('De Christi Bapt.'): M. x. 1134 c; cp. the dance of the Therapists in memory of the passage of the Red Sea, below p. 63.

² *C. Cels.* viii. 67 (Koetschau, ii. 283). ³ *Ib.* v. 33 (K. ii. 36).

⁴ *In Mart.* xii. (K. i. 13). ⁵ *De Prec.* vii. 5 (K. ii. 316).

⁶ *Com. in Matth.* x. 22; M. iii. 893 B.

have no taste for dance and song,—so that which is not purged as yet, nor worthy of pure truth, but is still dissonant, unrhythmical and material, must still stand out from the divine *chorós*.¹ This “spiritual and holy *chorós* is the Church symbolised as [the Holy] Body.”²

Finally, I am persuaded by the cumulative evidence of the above patristic passages, that what von Renesse calls “the most obscure passage” of that early (? second century) document *The Didachè* in all probability refers to the ‘dancing’ of the prophets, that order which ranked so high in early Christian circles but which was subsequently suppressed as individual inspiration and liberty declined. It runs as follows :

“Every prophet once approved as genuine, if he act according to *the cosmic mystery of the Church*, and refrain from teaching [others] to do what he does, shall not be judged by you; for he has God as judge. For in like fashion also the ancient prophets acted.”³

But the most important evidence in favour of sacred dancing as a traditional institution in the early church, is that of Eusebius (c. 260 — ? 339); for the father of church-history squarely affirms that Philo’s description of the Therapeuts agrees in all points with Christian customs, so much so that he claims the Therapeuts as the earliest Christian church in Egypt. If the received date of Jesus is approximately correct, this is of course historically impossible, for Philo’s treatise *On the Contemplative Life* was written about 26 A.D.; the true historical importance, however, and too much stress cannot be laid upon it, is that what

¹ *Strom.* V. iv. 19 (Dind. iii. 17). ² *Ib.* VII. xiv. 87 (D. iii. 328).

³ *Did.* xi. 11 (Harnack, pp. 44f.).

Eusebius knew at first hand and by tradition of the customs of the Church, agreed in all respects with Therapeut institutions. For we find him asserting that, in Philo's description, "are most manifestly (*evidentissime*) embraced all the institutions of the Church, both as then traditionally established and also preserved to the present day";¹ Philo, he tells us, moreover enumerates "many other things [besides their manner of using scripture] which are practised by us either in our churches or in our monasteries" (§14), so that there can be no doubt on the matter even among the most sceptical (§ 17); even the solemnity of the great all-night festival is precisely the same as that of the Church (§ 21); in fine, Philo has woven into his description the beginnings of Church institutions and the original form of the apostolic and evangelical tradition (§ 23).

But if Eusebius, who was on the spot, and who had first-hand knowledge of the rites, ceremonies, customs and traditions of many of the churches and monastic foundations, could see no difference, it is hardly competent for us at this late hour to say he was utterly mistaken, solely to clear the field for what are no better than 'preposterous' theories of Early Church history dictated by present-day theological exigencies. Eusebius is clearly wrong in calling the Therapeuts Christians, but not wrong in his knowledge of still living Church-customs and traditions of his day. Now, as we have seen, the first historian of the Church refers especially to the custom of the all-night festival, and tells us that the observances of the Therapeuts on this occasion and of the Church as known in his own day and as tradition had handed them down, were identical.

¹ *Ecc. Hist.* II. xvii. 1 (Schwartz, II. i. 140 ff.).

In making this statement Eusebius had the following passage¹ of Philo before him :

"After the banquet they keep the sacred all-night festival. And this is how they keep it. They all stand up in a body, and in the middle of the banqueting-place they first form two *choroi*, one of men and the other of women, and a leader and conductor is chosen for each, the one whose reputation is greatest for a knowledge of music; they then chant hymns composed in God's honour in many metres and melodies, sometimes singing together, sometimes one *choros* beating the measure with their hands for the antiphonal chanting of the other, now dancing to the measure and now inspiring it, at times dancing in procession, at times set-dances, and then circle-dances right and left."²

Philo, ever ready to authenticate a custom by a scriptural quotation, says that this festal dance was a memorial of the spontaneous dance of triumph of the Israelites after the miraculous passage through the Red Sea, "when both men and women together rapt in divine ecstasy, forming one *choros*, sang hymns of joyful thanks to God the Saviour, Moses the prophet leading the men, and Miriam the prophetess the women."³

I am myself convinced that for the history of the introduction of the tradition of the sacred dance, as of so much else, into early Christian customs and

¹ *D. V. C.* xi. ; P. 902, M. 484; Conybeare (Oxford, 1895), pp. 127 ff. It is to be noted that it was Conybeare's magnificent critical edition of this treatise which gave the death-blow to the Grätz-Nicolas-Lucius Pseudo-Philo theory.

² These are all technical terms for the dances of the dramatic chorus.

³ Conybeare, in his convincing *testimonia*, quotes many passages from the rest of the Philonian tractates, which prove unquestionably that the contemplative circles with which our religio-philosopher was in contact, were thoroughly imbued with the idea of a sacred dance. It is to be noted further that for Philo (*V.M.* 2, 172) Moses stood for the 'perfect mind' and Miriam for the 'purified sense.'

theology, the writings of Philo are a priceless source, and that all attempts to treat of the origins of Christianity which ignore the tractates of this great Alexandrian Jewish exegete and historian, are doomed to failure. If the received date of the origins of Christianity is right, Eusebius, the first church-historian, was thus very wrong in claiming the Therapeuts as the first Christian church of Alexandria, but he was not wrong in finding in the Therapeut community of Philo a prototype of many a custom of the Church; while as to the sacred dance itself Eusebius' own language abounds with references to it.¹

We have now sufficiently disposed of the objection that the Early Church used such phraseology in a purely figurative and metaphorical sense. The Early Church was taught as much by 'prophetical' practice and by ceremony, as by exhortation, philosophising and moralising. The direct evidence of such ceremony is now almost entirely lost, but kind fortune has quite recently placed in our hands a priceless fragment of the early archives in the so-called 'Hymn of Jesus,' incorporated with the Leucian (second century) collection of the *Acts of John*.²

In his letter to the Spanish Bishop Ceretius, Augustine, who so relentlessly persecuted the Priscillianists and destroyed their scriptures, says that this 'Hymn' was widely used by many of the heretical schools, besides the followers of Priscillian, that is to

¹ See the index in Heikel's ed. (Berlin, 1902), under *choreta*, *choretiō* and *choris*. Sometimes the use is metaphorical signifying a band, company or assembly, but there are frequent references to the dance of the stars, while in *V.C.* II. xix. (H. 49, 3) we are told that "dances and hymns taught them of God the sovereign supreme."

² For an introduction, commentary and notes, see the writer's *Hymn of Jesus* (*Echoes from the Gnosis*, vol. iv., London, 1907), and for the text, Bonnet (M.), *Acta Apost. Apoc.* (Leipzig, 1898), II. ii. 197 f. (§§ 94-97). The text is very corrupt.

say by those who did not come up to Augustine's standard of orthodoxy. I have carefully analysed this marvellous 'Hymn,' and have shown that it is no hymn, but an ancient mystery-ritual of Early Christendom, indeed by far the earliest Christian ritual with which we are acquainted. It is nothing else but the sacred dance of the *unio mystica*, wherein the new-born disciple is united with the Master, the repentant and purified human nature with the Divine Presence, in the mystery of spiritual at-one-ment. The introductory narrative in the *Acta*, is put in the mouth of John, who tells us that Jesus gathered the band of disciples together before going forth to His betrayal, and sang this last hymn with them.

"Then bidding us make as it were a ring, by holding each other's hands, with Him in the midst, He said: Answer 'Amen' to Me. Then He began to hymn a hymn."

This is of course historically a pious subterfuge to authenticate for the people the inner mystery of the spiritually elect. Throughout the whole ceremony the *chorós* of the twelve slowly circle round in the sacred dance, thus cutting off the sacred place, the holy ground, from the turmoil of the world; within this mystic circle the holy office proceeds; at each declaration and each response (amœbæan and antiphonal) of the *neophytēs*, or new-born (personifying the Sophia), and of the *hierophantēs* or initiator (representing the Christ), within the circle, the *chorós* of the twelve intones the sacred word 'Amen.'

After the preliminary test-declarations, to show that the candidate is fitly prepared, and the comforting answers of the Saviour, the mystery passes into a deeper stage, and takes on an intenser mode, for in the

rubric we now read that "Grace danceth." 'Grace,' we learn from the liturgy is the Ogdoad,—the technical Gnostic term for the Sophia or Wisdom Above, the Virgin of Light, Pure Nature; she therefore personifies the Music of the Spheres, the One and the Seven.

Whereon the Master sings: "I would pipe; dance ye all. (Amen!) I would play a dirge; lament ye all. (Amen!)."¹

The 'cosmic mystery' begins to inspire the human dancers and singers.

"The Ogdoad harps with us as one harp. (Amen!) The Dodecad above doth dance [with us]. (Amen!) The Whole on high is a-dance. Who danceth not knows not what is being done. (Amen!)"

There follows a second set of mystic antiphonal declarations of the Sophia and the Christ. So far the candidate has stood motionless, but now he is bidden to answer to the dancing of the representative of the Master, the Logos, the Leader of the Divine Chorus.

"Now answer to My dancing. See thyself in Me who speak, and dancing what I do, keep silence on My mysteries; for thine is the Passion of Man that I am to suffer."

Then follows the mystery-dance of this Passion, the earliest Passion-play of Christendom. The neophyte is overwhelmed with the seeming horror of it, the setting at naught, apparently, of the sacred person of the Man of Sorrows; he loses courage, and is assured he cannot understand the real joy of it until he is finally perfected.

"If thou hadst known how to suffer, thou wouldst

¹ Cp. *Matth.* xi. 17=*Lk.* vii. 27. How this 'dark saying' haunted the memory of the Church we have already seen; surely it must have been the echo of an ancient sacred *drömenon* or mystery-act?

have had power not to suffer. Be content to suffer, and thou shalt not have to suffer. That which thou knowest not, I myself will teach thee. I am thy God."

Thereon follows the final prayer of the candidate: "I would be brought into time and tune with holy souls"; and then the final revelation of the mystery: "'Twas I, the Word (*Lógos*), who did sport in all [the dancings], and was not made sport of at all. Thou shouldst so understand, and understanding say: Glory to Thee, Father! (Amen!)."

Surely we cannot doubt that here we have the final link with the true prototype of our carol; the chain hangs from the height. Both choral hymn and carol sing of the heart's "true love," and of the sacrament of the sacred union of the perfected human life with the Divine Mind.

In this paper I have confined myself solely to the ground of Christian tradition; but as the mystery is truly 'cosmic' it has many forms and modes among men, and may be traced in the inner rites of many faiths, both primitive and highly developed; but that would require a volume even for a summary.

G. R. S. MEAD.

CEREMONIAL GAME-PLAYING AND DANCING IN MEDIAEVAL CHURCHES.

THE EDITOR.

IN the October number of *THE QUEST* for 1910, there appeared an article on 'The Sacred Dance of Jesus,' which dealt with traces of ceremonial and liturgical dancing in the mediæval and early churches of Christendom. In it an attempt was made to connect the old English Christmaseve carol 'To-morrow shall be my Dancing Day,' which was still sung in West Cornwall in 1833, with the earliest extant Christian ritual (a dance combined with a mystery-drama or passion-play) known as 'The Hymn of Jesus,' in the second century Gnostic (Leucian) *Acts of John*. As this pioneer study in a little known, but instructive and, I venture to think, important subject, has aroused some interest, and as industry has since accumulated further data of not only sacred dancing, but also ceremonial 'game-playing' in mediæval churches, I propose to lay the evidence before the readers of *THE QUEST* in a set of papers. In these, specific cases will be dealt with for the most part; it being taken that the main outlines of the subject have been sufficiently sketched for the general reader, if but tentatively indicated for the scholar, in the article to which reference has been made.

THE PELOTA OF AUXERRE.

The most striking example of so-called game-playing in church is the famous Dance and Ball-play

known as the Pelota of Auxerre. The chief source of our information is an unsigned Letter by the Abbé Lebeuf, in the *Mercure de France* of May, 1726.¹

Lebeuf first of all erroneously connects this ball-dance with tennis (*jeu de paume*), roughly touches on the philology of the term *pilota* or *pelota*, and thinks that this peculiar custom was confined to a few of the French churches only, and is to be dated from the 12th or 13th century at earliest (p. 915); he then proceeds to put the reader in possession of the facts as recorded in the Auxerre cathedral archives.

First we have in Latin an ordinance of the Chapter, dated April 18, 1398, under the heading: 'Regulation for Making the Ball (*Pila*).'

It was resolved that Sir Stephen de Hamell and Master John Clementeti, the new canons, shall make a Pilota on Easter Monday . . . and [the Chapter] agreed that their first month [s stipend?] should be paid for the said Pila.

Here 'making a pilota' does not seem to mean

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 911-925; the Letter is dated from Auxerre, Feb. 5 of the same year. Jean Lebeuf was a learned and prolific writer of wide interests. As a philologist he was especially interested in late Latin terms, which were then being studied with much zeal in connection with Dufresne's (Ducange's) famous glossary. In the Challe-Quantin edition (2 vols., Auxerre, Paris, 1848) of Lebeuf's *Mémoires concernant l'Histoire civile et ecclésiastique d'Auxerre et de son ancien Diocèse*, will be found a biography and bibliography of this distinguished writer. His literary activity included 15 special works or collections of essays; 143 letters to the *Mercure de France* (from Nov., 1723, to July, 1740); 36 *Mémoires* in the *Journal de Verdun*, and 29 in *Acad. d. Ins. et B. Lettres*; 3 treatises on music, and other fugitive writings; in all 236 pieces. The title of the above Letter runs: 'Explanation of a Low Latin Term: A Letter written from Auxerre to M. D. L. R. about an ancient Ecclesiastical Dance abolished by Decree of Parliament.' The chief data of this Letter are reproduced in Dufresne's *Glossarium ad Scriptores med. et inf. Latinitatis* (1st ed. Paris, 1678; Bened. ed., Paris, 1733, etc.; last ed., emended by L. Favre, Niort, 1886, etc.). The Letter is also reprinted in C. Leber's *Collection des meilleures Dissertations, Notices et Traités particuliers, relatifs à l'Histoire de France* (Paris, 1826), tom. 9, under the title: 'Curious Letter on the Game of Pelote and the Dance of the Canons of the Chapter of Auxerre.' In his French Translation of Durandus' *Rationale Div. Off. (Rational ou Manuel des divins Offices de Guillaume Durand)*, Paris, 1854, C. Barthélemy, with his habitual impropriety, 'lifts' almost the entire Letter verbatim, without the acknowledgment of quotation-marks (in Note 8; vol. v., pp. 447ff.).

the mere fabrication of a ball, but rather that these two newly-received canons were, as we shall see, to be responsible for the expense and provision of the whole ceremony or celebration called Pelota. This duty, it is true, did in part consist of the ceremonial presentation¹ to the company, *i.e.* to the canons, of a certain prescribed ball for the ceremony, and the new canon or canons had to provide it.

In the next place, it is to be noted that the ball was of considerable size, for under date April 19, 1412, we find among the statutes a regulation in Latin, which reads in English:

It was resolved that the *pilota* should be of smaller size than usual, yet so that it cannot be held or caught with one hand only.²

The 'usual' *pelote* or *pelotte* must thus have been very large; it certainly was no 'tennis ball,' and Lebeuf is on a clearly wrong track when he refers to our Pelota ceremony as a *jeu de paume*.³

¹ As we shall see (p. 96 below), this was technically called 'oblation,' in the legal documents.

² For text, see Dufresne (*s.v.* *Pelota*); Lebeuf does not give it.

³ Whatever may be the origin of the English term 'tennis,' the game itself was originally played with the palm of the hand (Fr. *paume* = Lat. *palma*), hence *jeu de paume*. It was only later that rough racquets (*relia*) began to be used. Littré (ed. 1863) tells us that tennis was defined in 1356, in Latin, as '*lusus pilæ cum palma*,' and that it was at this date that it 'came in'—a probable error, for, as a hand-game, its heredity may perhaps go back to classical antiquity, and the original of the game may have formed part of the important department of gymnastics known as spheristics. The archæologically worthless article on tennis in the last ed. (11th) of the *Enc. Brit.*, says that the game was first called '*luens* [*sic*] *pilæ*,' clearly a misprint for '*lusus pilæ*.' The late Latin term *pelota* or *pilota* was a generic term for a wound ball of any size, and derives from the classical Latin *pila*, of which also there were many sizes; the non-solid or inflated ball, however, was called *foliis*. The *pelota* was thus a solid or stuffed ball. In French *pelote* means most generally a heap, and commonly a ball of thread, a pincushion, a round mass of anything, snow-ball, etc. It was also a term used by tennis-ball makers, but only for the inside of the ball before it was covered, and not for the completed article. Variations of the term *pelota* are found in all the Romance languages, and numbers of our readers must have seen the famous 'Basque' game of glorified and gigantic tennis, called *pelota* in Spanish, of which there are innumerable courts (*frondons*) in the Peninsula, and one also at Rome. The point of this lengthy note is

Lebeuf, with the full text of the above decree of the Chapter before him in the cathedral registers, which he, however, unfortunately does not cite textually, tells us, further, that it was decided that the *pelota* should be presented with the long-established solemnities; that it should be used in the customary manner, and that the president of the company (or, as we shall see later, the oblator of the ball) was empowered, if he thought fit, to lock it up in his own house, so that, apparently, it might not be used improperly or for a secular purpose. It was thus presumably regarded as a sacred object.

The first overt protest against this ancient ceremony was made, according to the registers, on Easterday, April 14, 1471. Lebeuf's account runs (in summary) as follows:

Maitre Gérard Royer, Doctor of Theology of the University of Paris and a famous scholar, had shortly before been received as a canon of the cathedral. It was accordingly his turn for furnishing and presenting the famous *pelote*. The hour of the ceremony arrived. All the nobles, gentry and magistrates, and a crowd of citizens were assembled, together with all the clergy, in the nave of the sacred edifice; but there was no *pelote*. The recalcitrant canon, who was present, was incontinently taken to task. He excused himself on the plea that he had read in the *Rationale*¹ of Durand, that this ancient custom was not '*convenable*.' His objections, however, were over-ruled, and he had to go and bring last year's *pelote* from the house of the canon who had presented it and locked it up after the ceremony. Thereupon the murmurs ceased, and the Doctor presented it publicly and with great dignity to Mr. Dean, and to the other Messieurs of the Chapter, assembled in the presence of the governor of Auxerre and of the

to show that the *pelote* of Auxerre was a large stuffed ball and not a small tennis-ball, or even an inflated large hand- or foot-ball. Lebeuf, nevertheless, inconsequently calls it '*balle ou ballon*' (p. 916), and Dufresne also (*s.v.*) gives *balon* as a synonym.

¹ L. 6, c. 86§ 90, and p. 104 below.

other notabilities and chief magistrates, and of the crowds of citizens who had gathered in even greater numbers because of the rumour of the *contretemps*. And, the Latin register continues :

"Thereupon they [the clergy] began to execute the dance in the accustomed manner; and at the end of the ceremony they returned to the chapter-house for the repast" (p. 918).

Hereafter public opinion began gradually to change. But it was not till fifty years later that the crisis was reached, when Laurent Bretel, *curé* of one of the Auxerre parishes, on being received as a new canon of the metropolitan church, flatly refused to take any part whatever in the *pelote* ceremony. A great outcry naturally arose among the defenders of antiquity, but the sturdy canon appealed to the civil court (*bailliage*) of Auxerre, which sustained him and not only found fault with the ceremony, but formally condemned it and ordered the Chapter to change the old custom into something of a more edifying nature. This judgment was rendered on April 22, 1521. The Chapter at once appealed to the highest court of the realm; but Canon Bretel, by no means dismayed, defended the case, and all the world of Paris was soon talking of nothing but the Pelote of Auxerre. Thereupon a commissioner was despatched to Auxerre for the Easterday ceremony of March 28, 1535. On his return his report was examined by four Councillors of Parliament, four Canons of Notre-Dame de Paris, and four Doctors of the Sorbonne, counsel for both sides being present. And the result was that the decision of the court of Auxerre was sustained in the formal judgment that :

"The plaint made by the dean, canons and chapter of Auxerre could not be accepted"; that the ceremony should be reformed,

¹ *Collatio*; the 'sacred meal' was one of the chief elements of such ceremonies: it will be dealt with in a subsequent paper,

omitting "any offering (*oblation*) of the *pelote* in the shape of a ball . . . or any repast."

Moreover the Chapter was ordered to pay all Master Laurent Bretel's costs, which must have amounted to a pretty penny (pp. 918-921). The repast was commuted into a sum of money which all the newly received canons had to pay, and which was called *pilota* up to 1789.¹

But what was the ceremonial ball-play which was danced in the cathedral of Auxerre, and of whose origin and import neither party, nor even the learned Lebeuf himself, seems to have an inkling? To the latter question a speculative answer will be attempted later on; meantime let us turn our attention to the ancient ceremony itself, at any rate so far as the dim memory of its old age will permit us to reconstruct its main features.

Lebeuf (p. 922) extracts the following description of it from a Latin MS. in the cathedral archives, which his vague reference² unfortunately does not allow us to date with any certainty.

When the ball (*pilota*) had been accepted from the newly received canon,³ the dean, or another in his stead (in former times with his head covered with his amice,⁴ and the rest [of the canons] in like manner), began to intone in antiphon the sequence (*prosa*), appropriate to the Easter festival, which begins: 'Praise to the

¹ See Barthélemy, *op. cit.*, pp. 449, 451.

² "*Un peu postérieur au temps de l'histoire.*" This probably means "shortly after the records begin"; for *l'histoire* can hardly refer to the famous trial.

³ "*A proselyto seu tirone canonico.*" *Proselytus* and *tiro* are evidently technical terms for the youngest (not in age, but in seniority of office, as e.g. among the Therapeuts) member of the company. *Proselytus (advena)* may carry us back to the mystery-institutions, the term being found in the Isiac cult, for instance (cp. Apuleius), and of course to Jewry and the Therapeuts and Essenes of Philo; while *tiro* connects with chivalry, *tyrocinium* being the office of a new-made knight (cp. Dufresne, s.v.).

⁴ *Almutia*, a cape, hood or wrap, with which both head and shoulders were covered. It generally had two ends hanging down front or back,

Paschal Victim.' Then, supporting the ball with his left hand, he begins dancing,¹ in time with the rhythmical sounds of the chanted sequence, while the rest, holding hands, execute a choral dance (*chorea*) round the labyrinth.²

Meanwhile the ball (*pilota*) was handed or thrown alternately by the dean to the dancers,³ one by one or several at a time, wreath-wise.⁴ When the chanting of the sequence and the danc-

¹ *Tripudium*, generally a quick dance, but was also used of the dancing of the Angels by Patristic writers.

² *Dadalus*, so-called from the legendary builder of the famous Cretan labyrinth, which was supposed (probably erroneously) to have been a smaller copy of the great Egyptian 'maze' of 3000 chambers, the remains of which are still to be found 11½ miles from the pyramid of Hawara in the Fayyûm. It is said that of these 3000 chambers, 1500 were underground, and a like number above ground. Herodotus was not allowed to enter the subterranean part. Pliny's idea was that the number of the main halls corresponded with the nomes or divisions of Egypt, and that the general plan of the building was connected with that of the solar system; and indeed it is well known that the terrestrial topography of Egypt (and of other 'sacred lands' in antiquity) was supposed to be a replica of celestial or astral geography, or of uranography. It is more to our present purpose, however, that there was in classical antiquity a famous dance connected with the labyrinth and its myth. Of this dance Johannes Meursius gives us the following indications, in his *Orchestra sive de Saltationibus Veterum*. (See J. Gronovius, *Thes. Græc. Antiq.*, ed. J. O. Bulenger, Lug. Bat., 1699, fol., col. 1245 B-D.) Plutarch, at the end of the first century (quoting from Dicearchus, a contemporary of Aristotle) hands on (*Vit. Thes.*) the ancient tradition that Theseus "sailing from Crete cast anchor at Delos; and having sacrificed to the god [Apollo] and dedicated a statue which had been given him by Ariadne, to Aphrodite, joined with the youth [of his company who had been rescued from the Minotaur] in a dance, which the people of Delos are said to keep up as a sacred service to the present day. This dance was a mime or mimicry of the circuits and passages in the labyrinth, and was executed by means of a series of ordered movements, including certain alternations and revolutions [or twistings, unrollings or unfoldings]. This kind of dance is called the 'crane' by the Delians." The Greek Sophist Pollux, writing about 175 A.D., tells us further that "the 'crane' is performed by a number of dancers, one over against the other in rows, the end of either file being taken by leaders, in imitation of Theseus and his companions, who were the first to mime the way out of the labyrinth, by dancing it round the altar"—*sc.* of the temple of the sun. It is further to be noted that Hesychius (*Lex. s.v. γέπavos*) speaks not only of 'running' or 'dancing' round the altar at Delos, but also of being 'beaten' or 'driven' (most probably 'scourged' or 'whipped') round it; and adds that it was a service or 'ceremony of thanksgiving' (*εὐχαριστήρια*), instituted by Theseus in gratitude for his escape from the labyrinth.

³ *Choribaudis*, in every text, including the most recent edition of Dufresne, but clearly a reiterated mistake from the first copyist, Lebeuf. As there is a middle Latin form *choriare* (to dance), I suggest *choriantibus* as the correct reading.

⁴ Lebeuf has '*serii in speciem*'; but *serii* is clearly a misprint for *serti*. It suggests the idea of weaving or intertwining a wreath (*cp.* Dufresne, *s.v.*).

ing (*saltatio*) are over, the band (or choir, *chorus*), after the dance (*chorea*) used to hurry off to the repast (*merenda*). There, all [the canons] of the chapter, as well as the chaplains and officials, together with certain of the more distinguished citizens, used to sit on benches in the 'corona'¹ or in the orchestra.² And all, without exception, were served with [the repast],³ and white and red wine was also served but in temperate and modest quantities, that is to say the cups were filled once or twice. During the meal the reader intoned a festal homily from the chair or pulpit.⁴ Shortly afterwards when the larger bells rang from the tower for vespers, etc. (pp. 921, 922).

As it is highly probable that Lebeuf had before him other sources of information (either in the registers or other MSS. of the cathedral archives) besides the above Latin extract, it is of interest to see how he differs from the text in his glossing of the passage. It means, he says, that:

The canon who had been most recently received, stood ready, holding his ball (*pelotte*) in front of his chest,⁵ in the nave of St. Stephen's, about one or two of the clock in the afternoon. He then presented it formally to the dean, or to the senior dignitary present, who put what is termed the poke (*poche*) of his amice over his head in order to manipulate the ball with greater ease.⁶

¹ Probably the name of the chapter-hall; *corona* was also a title of distinction for higher ecclesiastics.

² In mediæval churches, and doubtless in more ancient ones as well, the *orchestra* was a platform or stage, or at any rate a raised place, in the sacred edifice, where the actors or executants (*mimi*) gave their performances (*actiones*).

³ The various dishes, cakes, etc., mentioned in the text will be dealt with in a subsequent paper.

⁴ *Cathedra aut pulpito*. This clearly shows that when the ceremonial repast was taken in the church itself, the pulpit was in the orchestra; this was probably an area in front of the choir raised above the level of the nave.

⁵ As it was too big to hold in the hand, he must have 'cuddled' it.

⁶ This is by no means an illuminating guess. People do not put their heads in a poke the better to play at ball! I hazard the suggestion that it may have been the dim relic of an ancient ceremony when the head was veiled or covered as in the mysteries. It is to be noted that all the dancers were thus covered.

When the dean had ceremoniously taken over the ball, he supported it, as the canon had done, on his breast with his left arm.¹ And thereupon he immediately caught hold of one of the canons by the hand and began a dance, which was followed by the dancing of the other canons in a circle or in another mode (p. 923). Then the sequence 'Praises to the Paschal Victim' was chanted, accompanied by the organ, in order to make the singing more regular and more in time with the dance-movement. The organ was within hearing of the actors or executants, as they played their parts almost underneath the organ-loft (or organ-case, *buffet*), at a place in the nave where, prior to 1690, was to be seen a kind of labyrinth, in the form of several interlaced circles, as is still the case in the cathedral of Sens.² But the finest part of the proceedings was the 'circulation' of the ball, that is to say the passing (*renvoi*) of it from the leader of the company to the several players, and repassing of it back by them to the president, who was probably in the middle of the ring clad in all his distinctive vestments and ornaments.

Lebeuf was not able to find any details in the registers as to the figures of the dance (see p. 923), and unfortunately he did not possess a full copy of the report which was submitted to the supreme court in the *cause célèbre*. His conjecture that the dance must

¹ I suggest that it was held breast high in front of the face on the curved left arm.

² Similar labyrinths were not uncommon features in mediæval, and perhaps also more ancient, churches. "Geometrical figures composed of various pieces of coloured marbles and so disposed as to form labyrinths were frequently found in the pavements of French cathedrals and so-called *labyrinthes de pavé*. [They were also common in Spain; where there is at least one still at Seville.] The finest remaining sample is in the centre of the nave of Notre-Dame, Chartres, and a person following the various windings and turns of the figure would walk nearly 800 feet before he arrived at the centre, although the circumference does not exceed thirteen yards. Similar labyrinths formerly existed at Notre-Dame, Paris, at the cathedral of Reims, and at Amiens. This latter was taken up in the latter part of the last century and the centre stone (which is octangular [cp. the ogdoad, p. 120 below] and was formerly inlaid with brass imagery) is still preserved in the museum of that city. These labyrinths are supposed to have originated in a symbolical allusion to the Holy City, and certain prayers and devotions doubtless accompanied the perambulation of their intricate mazes."—T. H. Poole, art. 'Labyrinth,' *The Catholic Encyclopædia* (London, 1910). The information with which the faithful are supplied is to say the least vague. As a matter of fact pilgrims to Chartres still practise the devotion of the rosary on the labyrinth.

have been a sort of lively *branle*¹ is, in my opinion, unsound. On the contrary, it must have been a comparatively stately measure, not only on account of the size of the ball, but also because it followed the chant of the sequence. All we can legitimately conjecture is that though the dance of the dean may have been trodden to a more rapid measure, the dance of the others was choral and presumably stately, at any rate originally.

Lebeuf is, therefore, I hold, somewhat extravagant when he proceeds (p. 924) to draw a comic picture of the grave church dignitaries breathlessly waltzing, with their violet cassocks tucked up to their waists, and the ends of their amices fluttering in violent agitation behind them. He starts with the false notion of a *jeu de paume*, a secular merry game and dance at best, and then falls into quite unnecessary difficulties and contradictions.

So much for what we can glean directly of the famous ball-dance of Auxerre itself. But this does not dispose of the general subject, for Lebeuf returns to it in a second Letter to the *Mercure de France* (March, 1727).² Lebeuf's former Letter, it appears, had made quite a stir; he therefore proceeds to give other instances of ecclesiastical ball-play. Auxerre's cathedral was not the only church in which the ceremony had been used; the distinction of St. Stephen's was that it had been the last chapter obstinately to cling to the ancient custom.

¹ "The *branle* or *branle gai* is the generic name of all the dances in which one or two dancers lead the others, who repeat the steps of the leaders. There are, or rather there were, also *branles sérieux*" (Littré).

² Under the title: 'Remarks on several curious Contributions to the *Mercures* of 1726, addressed to the Editors of this Journal'—dated from Auxerre, Jan. 2, 1727—*op. cit.* pp. 494ff.

THE PELOTA OF NARBONNE.

Lebeuf had been informed by a correspondent that at Vienne in Dauphiné, that is at Narbonne, the custom of 'throwing the ball' at the Easter festival had obtained in ancient times. When the records begin, however, the ceremony was no longer celebrated in the sacred edifice itself, but in the hall of the archbishop's palace, where all the clergy of the cathedral assembled on Easter Monday, while the bells were ringing for vespers. On such feast days the bells rang for a considerable time, during which the ceremonial repast was partaken in the prelate's palace, and after this meal the archbishop 'threw the ball.' A MS. of the 13th century, in the cathedral archives, contained the following rubric for Easter Monday in Latin :

While the bells are ringing for vespers, the whole chapter (*conventus*) is to assemble in the hall of the archbishop's house ; there tables are to be laid, and the servants (*ministri*) of the archbishop are to serve [certain dishes¹] with wine to follow. Afterwards the archbishop is to throw the ball (*pelota*).

This custom must have been kept up for at least three centuries subsequently, for on the margin of the MS. there is the following Latin note in a handwriting that was judged to be two hundred years old :

And it should be known that the prefect² is to provide the ball, and is to throw it in the archbishop's absence (p. 495).

¹ The list will be dealt with in a subsequent paper.

² *Mistralis* = *ministralis* = *ministerialis*. Dufresne (s.v.) says that the *mistrals* were *maiores urbium*, and adds that at Narbonne there were two of these 'mayors,' one for the Count of Vienne and the other for the Archbishop ; the latter was chosen from the canons and filled the office of prefect of the city. Cp. Jean de Lièvre, *Histoire de l'Antiquité et Sainteté de la Cité de Vienne en la Gaule celtique* (Vienne, 1623), p. 414, who tells us that prior to the middle of the 15th century, the Archbishop had the sole jurisdiction, with his 'mistral' as judge in temporal affairs and his 'official' as spiritual judge in all matters concerning the church.

The prefect was doubtless the most important official after the archbishop, and he accordingly led the ceremony in the absence of his superior. It is also evident that as in this instance the 'ball throwing' took place after the ceremonial repast, it must, originally at any rate, have been of a sober and dignified nature. It could not have been a simple game of hand-ball, as Lebeuf seems to imagine, when writing (p. 494) "*le Prelat s'amusoit à jeter la Pelotte*," for in any case people do not, if they are wise, play ball immediately after a meal. Lebeuf, however, cannot get tennis out of his head, and so proceeds to tell us that the *jeu de paume* was not forbidden by canon law, under chapter '*Clerici*.' He then hazards that this *pelota* probably resembled the hand-ball and 'balloon' games of the students in the Paris colleges, and makes some allusion to the fact that hand-ball was played in antiquity by the most distinguished personages, such as kings and bishops. In the latter unfruitful line of research, as far as the present study is concerned, we need not follow him; but as to the former it may be of interest here to note that, as I have been verbally informed, in seminaries on the continent some very ancient games are still played, and to suggest that an enquiry, with perhaps some fruitful results, might open up in this direction. Faint traces of originally 'ecclesiastical games' may still be preserved in such little suspected quarters.

THE PERCULA OF NAPLES.

That the ball-dance of Auxerre and the ball-throwing of Narbonne were not isolated phenomena, and that neither play nor dance was due to 'Gothic influence,' may be seen from the Percula of Naples,

which was played (and may have been danced also) well-nigh under the shadow of the Holy See itself. Dufresne equates *Percula* with *Pelota*, but is able to give us one reference only, *viz.* to the *Acta* of S. Pomponius.¹ Pomponius was Bishop of Naples from 508 to 536. He built and dedicated the church of S. Maria Major to the B. V. M. for her supposed aid in exorcising the devil who, as the legend went, had laid waste much of the city in the form of a boar. So at any rate it is recorded in the *Chronicum* of John, Deacon of the said church, who lived in the 9th century. After recording this '*factum*,' the worthy chronicler continues :

4. In memory of this event the Neapolitans celebrated every year in this church certain games of ball (*percula*) for the comfort and refreshment of the soul, amid a great concourse of the populace. An exhibition of these games was given to the people by the vassals of the Church of Naples, from the country-seats and suburbs, on the Feast of the Translation of S. Januarius, in the month of May, to wit on the third Sunday of the said month.

Though, unfortunately, no description of these games is given, the points to be chiefly noted are that they were ceremonial (*celebrarunt*), that they were played in the sacred edifice itself, and that they are specifically stated to have had a religious or spiritual purpose (*ad solatium atque animi recreationem*). As to the legend in connection with the founding of S. Mary's the Greater, the learned Jesuit editors are of opinion that it is a mythical or allegorical allusion either to the purification of a former Arian church by Catholic rites, for which they adduce evidence of similar phraseology in other cases, or to the fact that the site of the church had been occupied formerly by a house

¹ See *Acta Sanctorum* (ed. Henschen-Papenbroch, ed. nov. Carnandet, Paris and Rome, 1866), Maii, tom. 3, p. 372 b, 'De Sancto Pomponio Episcopo Neapolitano.'

of ill-fame. Though the *Percula* of Naples throws no new light on the *Pelota* of Auxerre, it proves that ball-games in church were not confined to French dioceses; indeed our quotation stands out rather as a finger-post pointing to a forgotten but widespread territory of ancient ecclesiastical custom in this respect.

THE TESTIMONY OF BELETH AND DURAND.

Further, Jean Beleth, rector of the theological faculty at Paris, in treating of the customs of the Church at Eastertide, tells us that in his day (c. 1165):

There are some churches in which even bishops and archbishops play with their subordinates in the convents (*cœnobiis*) stooping even to ball-play (*lusus pilæ*). . . . But although large churches like Reims keep up this custom of playing, it seems more praiseworthy not to do so.¹

Durand, Canon of Narbonne and afterwards Bishop of Mende, at the end of the 13th century, 'lifts' this passage from Beleth without acknowledgment, but with the interesting gloss that in some churches at Easter and in others at Christmas, the prelates and clergy play at dice, in the cloisters or bishop's palaces, and even go so far as playing at ball and dances and songs.² Both these writers connect these customs with what was called the 'December Freedom,' originally, of course, the Roman Saturnalia, but, as we shall see later on, with little probability that this '*libertas decembrica*' will satisfactorily solve the problem.

¹ *Divinorum Officiorum ac eorundem Rationum Explicatio*, c. 120; Migne, P. L., tom. 202 (Paris, 1855).

² *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (l. 6. c. 86 § 9), which first appeared in 1286; Migne, P. L., tom. 202 (Paris, 1855).

THE BRIDE-BALL THEORY.

The only writer of recent times who has attempted a solution is Wilhelm Mannhardt. In ch. v. §10 of his famous work, Mannhardt treats in detail of the widespread custom of the bride-ball; after referring on two pages¹ to the subject of ball-playing in church, he then sums up his evidence as follows:

The bride-ball must have had some close connection with the green foliage, the young vegetation (cp. the ball's being knocked to pieces in the green fir-wood); it appears to have been essential to the young married pair. I imagine the state of affairs to have been that the couple is supposed to have the privilege of the bride-ball for a year, and that the maidens then reclaim it, because the use of the privilege expired with the close of the year for that particular pair; another ball for another couple had then to take its turn (p. 479).² The matter would be clear if we ventured to conceive the bride-ball as a symbol of the sun-sphere—that fiery disk, of which the ‘ball of ashes, of gold’ (p. 472), the making of the shot red-hot in Klein-Mölsen, the shape of the notched ball given to the maidens in Ellichleben, etc. (p. 478), are probably not simply chance memories—and if we further ventured to think of the bride and young married couple as representatives of the bride-pair of the spring. This interpretation is supported by the fact that they must be people who were married before Fire-brand Sunday (p. 473, *Dimanche de Brandons*)³ and also by the threaten-

¹ *Weld- u. Feld-Kulte* (zweite Aufl. besorgt von Dr. W. Henschkel, Berlin, 1904/05), vol. ii. pp. 477, 478. These pages repeat word for word the text of the 1st ed. (1875/77), and show not the slightest sign of ‘care’ of revision at the hands of the editor. M. has only a second or third-hand acquaintance with a few of our sources, and his quotations, at any rate in these pages, are exceedingly inaccurate. His puzzling reference is: ‘Fosbroke’s Brit. Monach bei Hone I, 215. Cf. Chambers I, 429.’ M. was dependent entirely on Hone = S. Hone, *Every Day Book* (London, 1866). Chambers = R. Chambers, *The Book of Days*. Fosbroke = Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke, *British Monachism; or, Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England* (3rd ed., London, 1843), p. 56. M. says that this ‘ball-playing in church was an English custom. Fosbrooke says ‘probably practised only abroad.’

² The knocking of the ball to pieces, I would rather suggest, symbolised the birth of the child.

³ The first Sunday of Lent (*Carême*), the forty-six days from Shrove Tuesday to Easter.

ing of the young wife, in Arendsee, if she seem reluctant: 'We will take away from thee thy mate blooming like a green tree, and give thee instead a dry one.'¹ The decision of this question must of course depend on how we have to explain the widespread custom, in North Germany and England, of playing at ball on Shrove Tuesday, Easter and Christmas. At Landsberg on the Warthe, on the third day of Easter, they play at ball down in the meadows and the game ends up with a dance called 'keeping (or celebrating) the Easter ball.'

At Kiez, near Köpenick, this still takes place on the first day of the Easter festival before sunrise, but at other places at other times of the day; neither rain nor snow-storm stops the play and dance. The English forms of these customs show that in these celebrations also, the seating of the newly-wedded opposite the unmarried played the chief rôle, that they were attenuated survivals of playing with the bride-ball, and that with the development of the ball-play in society they had undergone much modernisation. . . . The hurling the ball over the roof of the gateway or over the church resembles disk- (or quoit-) throwing. The importance of the custom of the Easter-ball is shown by the circumstance that the policy of the Church considered it necessary to consecrate it, or at any rate to Christianise it entirely, doubtless in the hope of being able to transform it, by appropriation to the divine service, into a symbol of Christ himself, the rising Easter-sun. Last of all, though not least, in support of our interpretation comes the fact that in Oldenburg the Easter-ball seems to stand in evident connection with the Easter-fire. Both children and grown-ups play at ball on the afternoons of both feast-days. At Ganderkesen the grown-ups indulge in ball-play at the Easter bonfire and afterwards go to the tavern to play *Klumpsack*,² in which the young maidens are also allowed to take

¹ For the symbolism of the green and dry tree in marriage-customs and in mysticism, in the middle ages, cp. Prof. Franz Kaemper's art. 'Dante and the Renaissance,' *THE QUEST*, vol. ii. no. 4 (July, 1911), pp. 725, 730.

² I do not know the English equivalent for this game. *Klump* in *Klumpsack* (N. Ger. *Plumpsack*) refers to the knots in a handkerchief. The players apparently strike one another with their knotted handkerchiefs. Schmitz, *Sitten . . . des Eifler Volks*, i. 88: "The one has to whistle and the other, *Klumpsack* in hand, tries to strike the whistler." Muret-

part. In Westphalia this game is played on the bonfire spot, of course before it is lighted. And so ball-play may have formed part of the Easter-fire.

Or, in spite of all, has the whole ceremony of the bride-ball at Easter arisen from an ecclesiastical origin, from Christian symbolism? And is it consistent with this that the ball is frequently thrown over the church (p. 473), or that the play starts from the cross (p. 474)?

THE DIRECTION IN WHICH A PROBABLE SOLUTION MAY
BE SOUGHT.

To this very important question Mannhardt gives no answer. But whatever may be the derivation and history of the folk-custom of the bride-ball and dance, which in its most general aspects belongs to the comparative science of folk-lore, I have little doubt myself that the ceremonial ball-dance of Auxerre and its ecclesiastical cognates should have their heredity traced to a tradition *within* the Church, and that, too, from early times. There are many customs of a superficially similar nature, it is true, that in course of time forced themselves on the Church *from without*, and which the authorities had very great trouble to keep outside the doors of the sacred edifice, and indeed some of these irregular observances frequently invaded the sacred precincts. But at the same time also some ceremonies, though fundamentally of non-Christian origin (for indeed few of the innumerable Church-observances were really original to the faith), were of early introduction and so to speak adopted into the sanctuary. I venture to think that the ball-dance of

Sanders quote as an alternative title of this game the tag: "*Dreh' dich nicht um, der Plumpsack geht 'rum*"—which I take to mean: If you don't keep on waltzing you'll be thwacked. This brings to mind the 'driving' or 'beating' round the altar at Delos (above p. 97 n. 2).

which Auxerre preserved the last dim memory, was one of these. It was a dance on a similar, if not identical, plan to the dance¹ in the second century *Acts of John*, between which and the carol 'To-morrow shall be my Dancing Day,' I endeavoured to establish a series of links in my previous paper on 'The Sacred Dance of Jesus.' That dance was, as I think I have shown, a mystery-ritual of regeneration or of the *unio mystica*. If Lebeuf's conjecture (p. 99, above) is correct that there were two dancers within the circle or ring, of whom one was dancing the same dance as the leader of the rite, who was in full canonicals, while the rest danced a round dance of another order, this is in striking confirmation of my interpretation of the text of the *Acts* as in one of its elements the union of the Christ and Sophia. In any case, if Pliny's idea (p. 97 n. 2, above) of the plan of the Egyptian labyrinth is correct, it was a dance in imitation of the dance and harmony of the celestial spheres and starry host, a notion taken over from the sidereal cult or astral religion of antiquity.²

But what of the ball, the *pelota*? It will be remembered that one of the chief elements in the 'Hymn of Jesus' is the passion-play which was danced; it was the most sacred part of the mystery. Of the details we are unfortunately told nothing directly in the text of the *Acta*, but as I have suggested from the words of the ritual (*op. cit.* p. 74):

Hereupon . . . the mystery-drama, the Passion of Man, must have been shown (*i.e.* danced). What it may have been is

¹ For an introduction, commentary and notes, see the writer's *Hymn of Jesus* (*Echoes from the Gnosis*, iv., London, 1907), and for the text Bonnet M.), *Acta Apost. Apoc.* (Leipzig, 1898), II. ii. 197ff. (§§ 94-97).

² For the best account of this see Franz Cumont's just published *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (New York and London, 1912).

not easy to conjecture; it must, however, have been something of a most distressing nature, for the neophyte is 'moved' or 'shaken completely.' . . . Presumably he saw . . . [the representative of] the Master dismembered before his eyes . . . or in some way done to death.

The drama was symbolical of the mystery of the human soul, of its passion and the final union of the human with the divine; but it was chiefly typical of the 'passion' of the divine in human form, of the Logos made flesh. Now the ancient higher mystery-institutions had two main grades; in the lower were shown the mysteries of generation or physical birth and death; in the higher, the mystery of regeneration or of spiritual birth and life. The symbolism of marriage played the principal rôle in both grades. It is thus easy to understand that there was a close parallelism between the outward marriage ceremonies and customs and the inner spiritual observances and rites. In this connection it is of interest to note that the bride-ball was burst asunder or even knocked or torn to pieces, and it is very probable that there may have been a somewhat similar symbolic ceremony, typified by a ball, in such initiatory rites, of which the tearing in pieces of the 'god' is a well-known element. This, however, was not the case at Auxerre, for the *pelote* was kept intact after the ceremony. Nevertheless the 'play' seems to be clearly part of the same complex of ideas; the passing of the ball backwards and forwards, in the circular dance, in which every dancer also revolved on his own axis, so to say, may very well have been thought to typify the apparent path or dance of the sun in the heavens throughout the year, and so of its 'passion,' and of the corresponding 'passion' of the earth in its seasons, all of which was further

believed to be analogous with the 'suffering' of the divine soul in human incarnation. In any case the ceremony at Auxerre was in closest connection with the death, burial and resurrection of the Christ-sun at Easter.

How this sacred dance got to Auxerre,¹ and what are the historic links between the earliest-known Christian rites of this nature referred to in the subsequently deemed heretical *Acta*, and the not only tolerated but fully sanctioned ceremonies of a similar nature in the post-Constantine and mediæval churches, are subjects of research for the historian and archæologist of ceremonial. At present no one has attempted to solve the problem; indeed the present is the first clear definition of it which has been attempted, for Mannhardt's question remains but a query.

THE BURIAL OF ALLELUIA.

But the ball-play or dance was not the only symbolical ceremonial rite of this nature of which we can find traces in the mediæval churches. There was a still stranger and, for the student of ecclesiastical archæology, more instructive 'game' in connection with the Alleluia ceremonies. We owe our information again to the indefatigable Abbé Lebeuf,² who is, how-

¹ As it was played at Reims, according to Belet, and very generally in France, and as we know that the 'Hymn of Jesus' was in widest circulation among the Priscillianists, the last great Gnostic movement, of the fourth century, and that the Priscillianist propaganda spread from Spain throughout Gaul, and was centred at Trèves, it may be that here we have one of the links. Moreover the labyrinth-dance itself most probably found a still earlier stage of transition in the oldest forms of the Christianised Gnosis, for in the famous Naassene Hymn (*Hipp. Ref.* v. 10, D. and S. p. 174), the human soul is said to be "wandering in the labyrinth of ills," to free her from which, and to lead her out of the labyrinth, the Saviour descends bringing the Gnosis (*Mead, Fragments*, p. 205; *Hermes*, i. 191).

² See *Mercure de France*, Dec., 1726, pp. 2656-2673, for his unsigned communication, dated Aug. 16 of the same year, and entitled: 'Lettre écrite from Burgundy to M. de S. R. about some curious Peculiarities of

ever, as in the case of the Pelota, entirely at sea as to its origin and significance.

The original Hebrew doxological formula Alleluia (Hallelu Jah=Praise Jah) has supplied the basis for a number of Latin substantival, adjectival and verbal forms, with which we need not trouble the reader. Not only so, but Alleluia or Alleluja had been personified as a feminine potency, and not only personified but made to suffer death, burial and resurrection (p. 2658).

In following up a previous essay on the Feast of Fools,¹ Lebeuf had looked through all the statutes of the cathedral chapters of which he could obtain copies or consult the originals. Among these he had examined a MS. copy of the statutes of the cathedral church of Toul in Lorraine (Dep. Meurthe), redacted in 1497, by Nicolas le Sane, Licentiate of Law and Canon of the cathedral (p. 2664).² In these registers, what was Lebeuf's surprise to find, at Art. XV., the strange heading 'Alleluia is Buried,' and thereunder the following curious ordinance :

On the Saturday of Septuagesima Sunday,³ at nones, the choir-boys are to assemble in the great vestry, in festal attire, and there to arrange the burial of Alleluia. And, after the last *Benedicamus*, they are to go in procession, with crosses, torches (*torciis*, Duf. *tortiis*), holy water and incense, and carrying a clod of earth as at a funeral, and are to proceed across the choir, and go to the cloister, wailing (*ululantes*), to the place where she [*sc.* Alleluia] is buried. And after one of them has

two MSS.—the one of Toul and the other of Sens.' Lebeuf asks the editor of the *Mercure* to hand on the information to the learned Benedictine editor of the new ed. of Dufresne's *Glossary* (Paris, 1733, etc.) which was then in hand.

¹ Cp. *Mercure de France*, July, 1725.

² In Lebeuf's time this MS. was in the Public Library of the City which had been founded in the previous year (1725) by M. Fenel, Dean of the metropolitan church (p. 2673).

³ That is, sixty-three days before Easter.

sprinkled the water and a second censed [the grave], they return by the same way. Such is the custom from of old.

Lebeuf conjectures that in this ceremony, which took place between nones and vespers, with the full sanction and approval of the Chapter, the boys must have carried a sort of bier on which was the representation of the deceased Alleluia who was laid in a grave in the cloister (p. 2659).

THE WHIPPING OF ALLELUIA.

But the burial and mourning for her were not the only rites of this nature in connection with the beautiful Alleluia office, which was of course celebrated in the sacred edifice itself, for Lebeuf was assured by an informant that in one of the dioceses near Paris, the following extraordinarily interesting ceremony took place in the cathedral itself. On the Saturday before Septuagesima one of the choir-boys used to bring to church a whipping-top (*toupie*), round which was painted in fair golden letters the name Alleluia. When the moment came in the service for bidding Alleluia farewell, the boy, whip in hand, scourged the top down the pavement of the church and out of doors. This ceremony was called 'Whipping Alleluia' (p. 2664). Lebeuf hoped to get some further information on what he calls '*cette bizarre comédie*,' from some antiquarian in the diocese, especially with regard to the ceremony of the resurrection and return of Alleluia on Easter-day, as to whether there was also a 'Whipping-back of Alleluia' but unfortunately I can find nothing more on the subject in the learned Abbé's voluminous writings. We are, however, not yet at the end of our resources, and shall first of all see what light can be

thrown upon these seemingly strange rites, from the 'Office of Alleluia' itself, as used in the dioceses of Burgundy in the middle ages.

Fortunately, the Benedictine editor of the 2nd ed. of Dufresne's *Glossary* obtained from Lebeuf an almost verbatim copy of this beautiful Office as it used to be practised at Auxerre, from the 13th century MS. Latin liturgies of the metropolitan church and its dioceses. It runs as follows:

THE ALLELUIATIC OFFICE FOR SATURDAY IN
SEPTUAGESIMA.

AT VESPERS.

Antiph. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Chap. Blessed, etc.

Hymn.

Alleluia, song melodious,
Voice of everlasting joy,
Alleluia, praise sweet-sounding
Even to the choirs on high,
Which they sing for ever dwelling
Through the ages in God's home.

Alleluia, joyful mother,
Zion's¹ fellow citizen,
Alleluia, voice of thy own
Citizens in blissful joy,
Of us exiles here the rivers
Of Great Babel² force our tears.

Alleluia, we unworthy are
To harp perpetually,
Alleluia, voice of rebirth³

¹ Lit. Jerusalem's.

² Lit. of Babylon.

³ *Renatus*, ? = spring, i.e. the lent or spring season together with its introductory days from Septuagesima onward.

Makes us intermit [thy use];
For 'tis now the time when we must
Mourn offences of the past.

Wherefore Thee we pray O blessed
To-be-praised Trinity,
That Thou grant¹ us vision of Thy
Paschal feast in æther-height;
Where to Thee we sing rejoicing
Alleluia without break. Amen.

℣. Evening prayer, etc.

Antiphon at the Magnificat.

Tarry with us for this day, Alleluia, Alleluia; and on the morrow thou shalt set forth from us, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia; and when daylight shall have risen thou shalt go forth upon thy ways, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Prayer.

O God, who dost permit us to celebrate the solemnities of the Alleluiatic song by bringing it down [to earth], grant us that we may sing Alleluia in everlasting felicity, together with Thy saints who sing in blessed joy unending Alleluia. Through our Lord, etc.

AT MATINS.

Invitatory. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Hymn. Alleluia, song melodious, etc.

In the First Nocturn: Antiph. Alleluia.

℣. I call to remembrance my song in the night [*Ps.* 77⁶].

First Lection. In the beginning God created [*Gen.* 1].

R. 1. Alleluia, while she is present they entertain² her, and they greatly long for her while she withdraws herself.³ *And for evermore [with head]⁴ encrowned she triumphs it before the Lord, Alleluia.

¹ Reading *des* for *det*.

² *Invitantur*. Such a deponent form is never found; it is evidently a mistake for *imitantur* (cp. Amalar, p. 117 below).

³ *Dum se eduxerit*; Amalar has *subduzerit* (*ib.*).

⁴ The inserted words are for the purpose of keeping the same number of syllables as in the Latin.

Ÿ. In the [blessèd] friendship of the Lord she finds her righteous pleasure, for as much as she is immortal in the sight of Him. * And for evermore, etc.

R. 2. May the number of thy years be increased by the Lord, Alleluia, mayest thou go forward by the road of wisdom. * And by the narrow way of righteousness mayest thou return to us, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Ÿ. For thou alone dost hold the preëminence in the presence of the Lord; because of this, therefore, return into thy treasures. * And by the narrow way, etc.

R. 3. Alleluia, alone thou hast the preëminence, etc. May [all] the angels sing thy praise. * For thou hast been well-pleasing to the Lord, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Ÿ. May the good angel of the Lord be thy companion and make good disposition for thy journeyings. * For, etc.

In the Second Nocturn: Antiph. Alleluia, Alleluia.

There follow the Lectons from Genesis.

R. 4. May the good angel, etc., Alleluia, and make, etc. * That again with rejoicing thou mayest return to us, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Ÿ. May the number of thy years, etc. * That again by the narrow way, etc.

R. 5. Alleluia, return [therefore] into thy treasures. * May [all] the angels, etc.

R. 6. Alleluia, O thou [most] righteous pleasure in His handiworks, creations of the Lord. * Thou riches manifold, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Ÿ. Beautiful hast thou been made, and sweetly pleasant in many delights. * Thou riches manifold, etc.

In the Third Nocturn: Antiph. Alleluia.

Homily on the Gospel. The kingdom of heaven is like, etc.

R. 7. A good name is rather [to be chosen] than many riches [Prov. 22]. * [Yea,] beyond gold and topaz is good grace [to be reckoned], Alleluia, Alleluia.

Ÿ. Oh how sweet unto my throat are Thy utterances, O Lord, beyond honey and the honeycomb unto my mouth. * [Yea,] beyond gold, etc.

R. 8. Alleluia, [avenge thou,] avenge thou my cause and set thou me free, Alleluia, from them that calumniate me. * Alleluia.

V. Look thou upon my humility, and snatch me away, seeing that I have not forgotten Thy law. * Alleluia.

R. 9. Alleluia, tarry with us for this day, etc., Alleluia.

* And when daylight, etc., Alleluia, Alleluia.

V. May the good angel, etc. * And when daylight, etc.

AT LAUDS.

Antiph. We all are athirst, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Ps. The Lord is king. Rejoice. God.

Antiph. Let the earth give praise unto the Lord, and let all things that grow upon the earth utter a hymn, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Canticle. O all ye works, etc.

Antiph. Alleluia, thou alone dost hold preëminence, etc.; because of this return, etc.; may [all] the angels, etc. Alleluia, Alleluia.

Ps. Praise, etc.

Chapters, Hymn and Antiph. at Benediction as above at First Vespers.

[Nothing is indicated for Second Vespers and the other hours. The *Ps.* 'Praise,' etc., at Lauds was sung as follows:]

Alleluia, praise the Lord down from the heavens, sing praises of Him in the heights, Alleluia. Sing forth the praises of the Lord, all His angels; sing forth His praises, all ye virtues of the Lord, Alleluia, Alleluia. Sing forth praise of Him, both sun and moon; sing praises of Him, O ye stars and light, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.¹

But what was the meaning of this beautiful service? The following exposition of Amalar or Amalaire, Deacon of the cathedral church of Metz, in the 9th century, in his treatise on the Services of the

¹ Lebeuf informed the Benedictine editor of Dufresne's *Glossary* that this office was also used in the monastery of S. Germanus at Auxerre, in the 9th century, according to the saint's own statement, in his *De Miraculis* (l. i. c. 10), and also in the cathedral itself, as witnessed by a missal of the same date. In the antiphonaries of the 14th and 15th centuries, however, he found that the office had been transferred from Septuagesima to the Feast of S. Stephen, the patron saint of the cathedral (i.e. to Dec. 26).

Church,¹ addressed to Louis the Pious, may orient us to some extent in the right direction :

AMALAR ON THE OFFICE FOR SEPTUAGESIMA.

First we must note whose state has been celebrated from the Lord's Nativity up to Septuagesima, and from Septuagesima to the middle of Quadragesima [First Sunday in Lent]. Manifestly Christ's generation, and the nobility (or freedom, *liberalitas*) of the holy preachers have been celebrated from the day of Christ's Nativity to Septuagesima, and from Septuagesima the generation of those who long to be taken up out of bondage and from the straits of the present sojourning, until again the birth of Christ is renewed (*renascatur*) about the Paschal Sacraments. The generation of Christ and the nobility of his own [sons] have for the most part migrated from the present age to reign together with the angels in the presence of God. The time of this departure (*emigratio*) is called the night, as the Lord says in the Gospel: The night cometh when no man can work [*Jn.* 9⁺]. The present Church which is in this sojourning, recalls to mind the glory that is celebrated among the citizens who have departed from it [*sc.* this sojourning on earth]. In the day, however, of those who are held down in bondage and who sigh to return again to freedom—among them, in sooth, who are fettered with the sadness of captivity, the Alleluia splendour is not celebrated. But among those who have passed forth [from bondage] Alleluia is celebrated, since they do not withdraw from praise of God. In the antiphonaries the first respond runs: 'Alleluia, while she is present, they imitate² her.'

The good Amalar is puzzled at the gender. Why, he asks, is Alleluia called 'she' when it is a neuter phase? He, too, is ignorant, and yet he immediately proceeds to call Alleluia the 'chaste birth,' or generation, 'with splendour,' that is, of course, regeneration

¹ *Maxima Bibliotheca vet. Patt. et. antiq. Scripp. eccles.* (ed. Margarin de la Bigne, Lyons, 1577, fol.), tom. 14 (containing writers from 800 to 840 A.D.). 'Amalarii . . . de Eccles. Officiis' (pp. 934ff.); *De Ordine Antiphonarii Liber* (pp. 1032ff.), cap. 80, 'De Officio Septuagesimæ' (pp. 1047ff.).

² Evidently the correct reading; they sing (and dance) with Alleluia.

with glory or grace, the 'spiritual birth,' as he rightly says (p. 1043A), and again 'this is the fair and chaste birth' (p. 1047H). With the rest of Amalar's lengthy and pious exegesis we need not trouble the reader.¹

To attempt the lengthy task of tracing the origin and evolution of the liturgical use of Alleluia in the Christian Church is of course out of the question in this restricted paper. The translation, however, of a few quotations from prior authorities in the long disquisition of Cardinal Joannes Bona, '*De Alleluja*,'² may be of service.

The mystery of Alleluia is as it were a dropping of a gentle joy-rain from the riches of Jerusalem Above. . . . It betokens the eternal life-communion of the angels and of blessed souls. It is thus the proper expression of future beatitude, and is rightly used with greatest frequency at the time when the risen Lord gives us pledge and hope and promise of that beatitude. In uttering Alleluia we jubilate rather than sing, for we prolong a single syllable [*sc.* the final *a*] of this utterance into a number of neumes (*neumæ*) or distinctions of modulation, in keeping with the exultation of the saints in glory (pp. 471, 472—from Abbot Rupert of Tuicæ in ancient Narbonne). Or more simply, the final *a* was prolonged to great length, to signify that the joy of the saints in heaven was unending (p. 474—from S. Bonaventura, and p. 475—from Richard of St. Victor). The modulation of the Alleluiatic chant expresses the thanksgiving of the faithful to God, and their sighing after eternal joys, for articulate human speech cannot express what the mind is unable to conceive, what God has prepared for them that love Him (p. 474—from Stephen of Burgundy). Jubilation that cannot be expressed in articulate speech breaks forth. The Church offers this oblation to God when

¹ It may, however, be of interest to note that the order of his responds is different from that of the Auxerre MSS.; that in *glossing* R 'Tarry with us,' etc., he treats us to a very arbitrary exegesis of a disjoined sentence or two from the familiar yet strange old folk-tale in *Judges* 19, and in *glossing* R 'May the good angel,' etc., to an equally arbitrary conflation of the Greek texts of *Tobit* 5 15, 16, 20, 21.

² *De div. Psalmodia . . . sive Psallentis Ecclesiæ Harmonia*, c. 16 §7 (ed. nov., Cologne, 1677), pp. 471ff.

she sings neumes (*pneumata*) or modulations without words in the sacrifice of Lauds. For by this 'vociferation' we represent those good gifts to come, after the dissolution of the flesh, which cannot be set forth in words (pp. 474, 475—from Luke of Tuy in Spain).

There is much more in the learned cardinal's disquisition for which we have no space; but from all of this later piety, interesting though it be in its own way, we do not get a single hint of the historic origin of the ideas associated with the use of Alleluia in Christian ritual; nor do we, as far as I am at present aware, get any direct indications from the Church Fathers. The phrase itself is of course Hebrew, and it was used in the temple-service. But did the Rabbis associate it with the joys of the New or Celestial Jerusalem? Of this I cannot as yet find any evidence. The traces must be sought for, if happily they can be found, in the influence of the astral lore of Babylon and of such ideas as dominated the Wisdom and Apocalyptic literature of Jewry. We thus enter the domain of Hellenistic religion and the widespread territory of the general Gnosis. In the present outline there is space to note only the most general indications.

The sidereal religion or astral cult that was a fundamental element of both Hellenistic theology and Gnostic ecstasis posited the 'harmony' (both song and dance) of the celestial spheres and the supposed 'correspondence' between the constitution and soul of the universe and the life and composition of man. In the soteriology or salvation-doctrine of the many cults of the Gnosis, the human soul was regarded as being in exile from its heavenly home; it was mythologised in the Christianised forms as the fallen Sophia or Wisdom, who was rescued or redeemed by the Saviour, the Christ, her heavenly spouse. Or,

again, the incarnated soul must dance in harmony with the stars and so rebecome a star, a god. On its way above it gradually shed its earthly tendencies, and so, reclothed with celestial virtues, or reëdowed with the movement of the celestial harmony, it rejoined the choirs above. The bride of the Christ was either the whole Church of the faithful or the individual perfected Christian soul. Now the Harmony of Generation or the supposed astral schematic determination of physical birth and death was called, in a number of systems of the Hellenistic and Christianised Gnosis, the Hebdomad,¹ and the Harmony of Regeneration or spiritual birth and life was termed the Ogdoad, Heavenly Jerusalem, Mother Above, and by various other names. To quote two passages out of many. First we have the request of the just illumined neophyte in the Trismegistic *Secret Sermon on the Mount* :

I would, O father, hear the praise-giving with hymn which thou didst say thou heardest then when thou wert at the Eight [the Ogdoad] of Powers.²

This refers to the following passage from the famous *Poimandres* or *Shepherd of Men* treatise :

And then with all the energizings of the [Lower] Harmony stripped from him, clothed in his proper power, he cometh to that nature which belongs unto the Eight, and there with those-that-are hymneth the Father!³

If we now turn to the ritual, called 'The Hymn of Jesus' in the *Acts of John*, we read :

The Ogdoad harps with us as one harp. Amen.

¹ See Wilhelm Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen, 1907), *Die Sieben und die Μητρηρ*, pp. 9-58.

² *Corp. Herm.* xiii. 15 (Mead, *Hermes*, ii. 228).

³ *Corp. Herm.* i. 26 (Mead, ii. 16).

The Dodecad above doth dance [with us]. Amen.

The whole on high is a-dance.¹

And a line or two before, and most important of all: "Grace leadeth the dance." Grace is Wisdom, the Sophia, the Ogdoad, the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Mother, Glory, Splendour, Regeneration. Grace is Alleluia.

Here, I believe, we have an early link with the Alleluiatic Office of the middle ages—a link of enormous strength, of which the above rough indications will perhaps give the reader unfamiliar with the very extensive literature of the subject, but little idea. I point to it, however, with some assurance as one of the main moments in the heredity of Alleluia.

As to the ceremony of the burial and wailing for Alleluia, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the familiar rites of the cult of Osiris-Attis-Adonis, traces of the probable survival of which in other forms have been of late discovered in customs of the mediæval church.²

But what of the Alleluia whipping-top? What connection can a childish game possibly have with the sublimity of Alleluia? It will be remembered that in the Theseus labyrinth-dance, the dancers were driven, and probably scourged, round the altar (p. 97. n. 2, above). Now the whipping-top was one of the 'play-things' of the young Bacchus, or Iacchos, whose cult was syncretised with the famous Eleusinian Mysteries. There is no space here to labour the point; that would mean another article.³ Setting aside the rest of the

¹ *Hymn of Jesus* (Mead), p. 32.

² See J. G. Frazer, *Adonis Attis Osiris* (London, 1906), pp. 198ff.

³ For a preliminary sketch of the subject, see 'The Playthings of Bacchus,' in the writer's *Orpheus* (London, 1896), pp. 249ff.; the first and still indispensable scientific study is C. A. Lobeck's *Aglaophamus sive de Theologiae mysticæ Causis* (Königsberg, 1829), i. 699ff., 'De Zagrei Crepundiis.'

'playthings,'¹ which were all, I believe, regarded as symbols of the modes of the ever-young creative life, or of the 'sport' of the deity, a note or two on the whipping-top (*ρόμβος*, *turbo*²) may be of special interest. The name *rhombos*, which in geometry was assigned to a body composed of two cones joined together on equal bases,³ was given to a number of similarly-shaped objects, such as a distaff, a spindle, a top (*toupie*), and what is now called a diabolo. In the mystery-playthings the *rhombos* or *turbo*, as a top which was whipped, must be distinguished from the spinning or humming top (*στροβίλος*).

I venture to suggest that the whipping-top of the mysteries was feigned to symbolise in its spinning the motion of the erratic spheres or seven planets, and the humming top that of the eighth sphere of the so-called fixed stars. This hypothesis is borne out by the famous myth of Plato known as 'The Vision of Er,'⁴ where he describes the cosmic 'Spindle of Necessity' and its eight whorls (the harmony and music of the spheres), with the heaven pole or axis through the whole, on which it spins. I thus am emboldened to think that Alleluia could have very well been suggested

¹ It may, however, be noted that they included 'dice,' and that Durand (p. 104 above) tells us that the prelates and clergy used to play at dice at Christmas and Easter.

² Unfortunately the art '*turbo*,' which is to deal at length with the subject, has not yet been reached in Derenburg and Saglio's *Dict. d. Antiq. grec. et rom.* There is, however, something to our purpose in E. Saglio's art. '*rhombos*,' though the special subject of the 'Playthings of Bacchus' is not referred to.

³ Fig. 3087, elsewhere in the Dictionary, reproduces a vase-painting of a girl whipping a top, which is formed of two truncated cones, with the smaller plane surfaces (not the bases) joined together; the top spins on a wooden peg in the centre of the inferior base.

⁴ *Rep.* x. 616 ff.; for a translation and notes see the Prolegomena in the writer's *Hermes* i. 440ff.

by the 'sacred' symbol of the whipping-top.¹ Moreover the ceremonial top of Auxerre had Alleluia painted round it in golden letters. Now in antiquity the seven vowels were assigned to the seven spheres, and it was a widespread custom to use these vowels alone in liturgical chanting. Combinations and permutations of these vowels occur with the greatest frequency in the Magical Papyri and allied documents, and may in some cases be the remains of a very ancient musical notation. At any rate Demetrius tells us categorically :

In Egypt the priests hymn the gods by means of the seven vowels, chanting them in order ; instead of the pipe and lute the musical chanting of these letters are heard. So that if you were to take away the accompaniment you would simply remove the whole melody and music of the utterance (*logos*).²

There may possibly be some echo of this in the modulation of the final *a* of Alleluia, and a musical antiquarian may some day, perhaps by an analysis of the old modes of the Alleluia music,³ recover some of these ancient vowel-chants.

In any case, I venture to hope that the above suggestions have set up some finger-posts for further research, and that they may have brought the puzzles of the ball-dance of Auxerre and the Alleluia whipping-top one step nearer a probable solution. In the next paper I propose to deal chiefly with the Bergeretta of Besançon.

G. R. S. MEAD.

¹ It is here further to be noted that Lebeuf (p. 2667), in describing the MS. of Sens that contained the Office of the Feast of Fools, from which he quotes a very peculiar Alleluia, says that the diptychs which contained this extraordinarily beautiful MS. were inlaid with two panels of ivory, yellow with age, on which were to be seen the figures of Bacchanals, of the goddess Ceres in her car, of Cybele, the mother of the gods, etc.; all of which is reminiscent of the Magna Mater mysteries and of the Eleusinia.

² On Interpretation, c. 71 (p. 20 Radem.). Cp. the writer's *Mithriac Ritual* (*Echoes from the Gnosis*, vi., London, 1907), p. 14 *et pass.*

³ Cp. e.g. Lebeuf (who among his other accomplishments was sub-cantor of the cathedral), *Traité historique et pratique sur le Chant ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1741).

CEREMONIAL DANCES AND SYMBOLIC BANQUETS IN MEDLÆVAL CHURCHES.

THE EDITOR.

CONTINUING our researches into the subject of ceremonial dancing in church in the late middle ages,¹ we pass to a consideration of the *Bergeretta* of Besançon, of which our chief source of information is an anonymous Letter to the *Mercure de France* of September, 1742.²

THE BERGERETTA OF BESANÇON.

Bergeretta was the name not only of a potion or cup of spiced wine, but also of a ceremonial dance which was celebrated in the canonical churches of the diocese of Besançon on the afternoon of Easter-day up to 1738.³

The writer of the Letter is correct in thinking that the repast or sacred meal, at which the cup was drunk, and which was associated with this dance, derived from the pious festivities of earlier centuries.

¹ See the article on 'Ceremonial Game Playing and Dancing in Mediæval Churches' in the last number, and for a general introduction, which includes a rapid survey of liturgical dancing in the early centuries as well as in the later period, see 'The Sacred Dance of Jesus' in *THE QUEST* for October, 1910.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 1930ff. The title reads: 'Letter written from Besançon on a late Latin Term and on an Ecclesiastical Dance which was performed there on Easter Day.' This communication is dated from Besançon, July 4 of the same year. I have not been able to identify the learned writer, but he was indubitably one of the canons of the cathedral.

³ Or indeed even later, for some vestiges of it still existed in 1742 in the collegiate church of S. Anatoile de Salms (p. 1930).

These had been preserved most conspicuously in the Church of Rome, as witnessed in its 12th century *ordines*; and the writer thinks that Besançon had derived its custom from Rome owing to the general similarity of its old ordinaries with the ancient Roman rituals (p. 1931). As for the dance, however, the Letter becomes apologetic and ascribes its introduction to the degeneracy of later times. Such dancing, it thinks, was a total misconception of the originally dignified motions and gestures of joy of the Israelites after the Passage of the Red Sea or of David before the ark, which were, it supposes, not dances but spontaneous expressions of rejoicing (pp. 1938, 39). The insufficiency and historical inaccuracy of this apologetic view, however, have been already pointed out in the previous two papers, and so we may pass on. The Letter continues:

Yes, MM. the canons and chaplains of our canonical churches used to foot it together in round dances in the cloisters, and even in the sacred edifices themselves when bad weather did not allow them to dance on the paths or turf of the cloisters—a performance which could not have failed to provide the spectators with an entertainment of the most comical and ludicrous kind.

These dances, however, could not have been of so comical a nature, for they are recorded without apology of any sort in the ancient rituals of Besançon, and chiefly in those of the collegiate church of Ste. Marie Magdaleine. For instance, in a book of rites of this church dated 1582, in the chapter on Easter-day, we have the following statement in Latin :

After dinner (*prandium*), at the end of the sermon, and when nones are over, there are dances (*choreæ*) in the cloister, or in the middle of the nave of the church if it is rainy weather; they are danced to certain airs contained in the processional [chant-books]. After the dance . . . there follows the repast (*collatio*) in the chapter-house (p. 1939).

In another ordinary, written only some eighty years before the Letter to the *Mercure* was penned, *i.e.* about 1662, we read almost in the same words in Latin :

After dinner, and when the sermon is over, MM. the canons and chaplains, holding hands, perform a dance in the cloister, or in the middle of the nave of the church if it is rainy weather. Afterwards they go to the chapter-house, and there follows the repast (p. 1940).

The Letter then proceeds to contend that the Latin term *bergeretta* (Fr. *bergerette*) was originally the name of this dance and not of the cordial or beverage (*liqueur ou boisson*) that was served at the repast or banquet which followed. It was only later on that the term *bergeretta* was extended to this ceremonial drink. For in a ritual written about 1400, this cup is called *pigmentum* and not *bergerette*, as in the passage :

After singing they go to the chapter-house to the repast which consists of *pigmentum* and wine.

Now *pigmentum*, the writer continues, was used in late Latin for a sort of hippocras, a cordial made of wine, sugar and different spices, which was not only in great favour at jollifications among the laity, but also a special beverage of the clergy, who were regaled with it on certain feast-days (p. 1940).¹ But a repast that consisted of nothing but hippocras and wine seems on the face of it a somewhat strange meal for sober folk. I suggest, therefore, that though there certainly was a ceremonial cup on Easter-day, in the above passage *pigmentum* may mean something else, namely, as we

¹ For instance, he tells us, at Ste. Marie Magdaleine's on Christmas-day a quantity of hippocras was served out to the canons who had taken part in the Mass of the Aurora, according to the following *item* in the ancient accounts of the said church : " For Christmas hippocras served out to MM. the canons who attended the Mass of the Dawn, 86 sous."

shall see later on from other examples, spiced bread or cake.

In any case, the writer is evidently right in contending that the term *bergeretta* was first of all the name of the dance. What, however, is its derivation; how did it come to be so used? Here we are left to conjecture. It may have been originally, the author supposes, the name of the airs to which certain hymns (or rather certain rhymed and cadenced or trilled sequences) were sung, while the clergy were dancing. These airs, he further conjectures, were probably the tunes of rustic songs of the period called *bergerettes*,¹ which were adapted to the text of the hymns. Or again, the term may have come, he hazards, from the name of the composer of the airs. All this is very unsatisfactory, and I should myself conjecture that the sound-association with *berger* (shepherd) has unconsciously (for no direct derivation is even hinted at by the writer or the dictionary) suggested the whole of the rustic pastoral idea. However, the writer makes a point of the fact that, in the above-quoted ordinary of 1400, the hymns are called 'songs' in the rubric:

After nones the choir goes to the lawn (*pratum*) of the cloister, and there are sung the songs (*cantilenæ*) of the resurrection, etc. (p. 1941).

Of these dance-songs or airs there were four; each consisting of several couplets, with repetitions arranged to suit the dance. These songs were preceded by an anthem or antiphon of the seventh mode which served as a prologue; it was, however, sung to a most eccentric air, as foreign (*barbare*) to the words as were the following 'hymns,' one of which was also of the seventh mode. That we may be left in no doubt, the

¹ The later editions of Dufresne's *Glossary* (s.v.) adopt this speculation, and gloss *bergeretta* as a 'pastoral song.'

writer proceeds to give us the words and music of one of these Latin songs, which he found in a MS. service book upwards of 300 years old (p. 1943).¹

They are as follows :

si	si	la	sol	la	ut	ut	ut	ut	si	la	si
<i>Fi</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>net</i>	<i>vox</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>bri</i>	—	—	<i>a.</i>
si	si	la	sol	la	ut	ut	ut	ut	si	la	si
<i>*Con</i>	<i>vert</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>gau</i>	<i>di</i>	—	—	<i>a.</i>
si	si	la	sol	la	ut	ut	ut	ut	si	la	sol
<i>Sit</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>læ</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	—	—	<i>a</i>
ut	re	re	sol	la	ut	ut	si	la	sol	fa	sol
<i>Quos</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>mit</i>	<i>gra</i>	<i>ti</i>	—	—	<i>a.</i>
si	si	la	sol	la	ut	ut	ut	ut	si	la	si
<i>*Con</i>	<i>vert</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>gau</i>	<i>di</i>	—	—	<i>a.</i> ²

The notation of the MS. was in the usual form used for plain-song; the arrangement of the air, however, was in keeping with a *branle* or dance in pairs, one pair leading the rest.³

Apparently the dance bore no distinctive name in the service books; but Jean Millet, in his *Mémoires*,⁴ compiled in 1653, in dealing with the Easter-day ceremonies, states categorically that the 'procession' (that is to say the 'three turns' in the cloister to which, as we shall see, the dance had at that date been degraded) was called *bergerette* (p. 1944).

But Besançon was not the only place where dances

¹ This MS. had been presented to the cathedral by a canon named Hugh de Vilète, a member of a well-known Besançon family, at the beginning of the 15th century.

² Let the sober voice of the faithful sound.

*Turn round and about O Sion with joy.

Let there be but one rejoicing of all
Who have been redeemed by one only grace.

*Turn round and about O Sion with joy.

³ Cp. QUEST, vol. iv. no. 1, p. 100 n. 1.

⁴ These dealt with the ceremonial which was still in force in the cathedral up to 1742. Millet was canon and sub-cantor of the cathedral and a great *connoisseur* of church music.

of this or a similar nature were practised. For, after referring to the already-quoted statement in Durand's *Rationale*,¹ our Letter (p. 1944) reproduces part of a passage from the section on the observances at vespers on the Day of Pentecost by 'Dom Martenne,'² the full text of which reads :

In former days in some churches after vespers there were dances (*choreæ*) on the lawn (*pratellum*), as at Limoges. The ordinary of Châlons [sur Saône] makes the following reference to this dance: "After complin the dance (*chorus*) on the lawn takes place. The dean sings the first chant: 'Come Holy Ghost'; the rest [of the clergy] are allowed to sing their own [songs] if they like, but in Latin."

From this we learn presumably the first words of the introductory 'anthem' at Besançon, and that the dance song and ceremony was a fairly wide-spread custom, but whether or not it was generally called *bergeretta*, as at Besançon, we have no means of ascertaining. At Limoges, moreover, in addition to this general dance, there was also a famous special dance in the choir of the Church of St. Martial, the apostle of Limousin, which was kept up till the middle of the 17th century. Of this service of dance Pierre Bonnet gives us the following information:³

[On the feast-day of the saint] the people performed a round dance in the choir of the church, and at the end of every psalm, instead of chanting *Gloria Patri*, they used to sing in the vernacular: "St. Martial pray for us, and we will dance for you."⁴ The custom was subsequently abolished.

¹ Cp. QUEST, *loc. sup. cit.* p. 104.

² That is Ed. Martène, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, l. 4, c. 27, § 18; (ed. nov., Venice, 1788), vol. 3, p. 195b.

³ *Histoire générale de la Danse sacrée et profane* (Paris, 1724), p. 45. This single passage is the parent authority for all subsequent statements on the subject.

⁴ I have noted several variations of the original words; the most authentic reading, however, is to be found in Gaston Vouiller's *La Danse* (Paris, 1898), p. 37: "*San Martiou, pregas per nous et nous ébingaren* (or *espingaren*) *per nous*."

But though the writer of our Letter begins his account with evoking a picture of the comical and ludicrous, and proceeds to stress the secular nature of the airs of the songs accompanying the dance, he shows himself later on very jealous of the reputation of Besançon, and contends that the *bergeretta* was always danced in the sacred edifices with becoming modesty, for the records clearly showed that from of old the metropolitan chapter was very particular and quite a model to other dioceses in such matters (pp. 1945, 46). In any case, as he conjectures, after the strong condemnation of abuses connected with these and similar ceremonies in the churches, by the councils of Vienne and Bale in the 15th century, the Easter-day dancing in the actual churches themselves of the diocese of Besançon ceased.¹ Nevertheless the old custom had such strong hold that it could not be entirely eradicated; it was accordingly reduced to making several circuits (*tours*) in the cloisters only, and instead of the dance (*branle*) airs the hymn of Lactantius, 'Hail Festal Day,' etc., was used. For in a book of rites, written in French, about the beginning of the 16th century, in use at St. Stephen's, we are told:

After nones, the clergy assemble in the cloister, with the singers to chant the music. The choir begins *Salva Festa Dies* and MM. respond *Qua Deus*, going [in procession] round the cloister. Then the choir sings again [*Qua Deus*], and MM. sing back the other verse *Salva Festa Dies*. Thus these two verses are sung alternately by MM., who make the circuit of the cloister three times.

¹ That this, however, was not the case in all the churches of the diocese, may be seen from the fact that, in spite of the most vigorous synodal diocesan decrees, of 1585 and 1601, which threatened the severest penalties against the enthusiasts who ventured to keep up the ancient custom, the dance was still in full force at Ste. Marie Magdaleine's, and danced in the nave in rainy weather, up to at least 1662 (p. 1947 and cp. p. 251 above).

Other somewhat earlier ordinaries of the same cathedral church, in Latin, are to the same effect. An ordinary in French, however, of the year 1647,¹ fortunately gives us some further interesting details of the remains of the ancient custom, which lead the writer of the Letter to suppose erroneously that the dancing had at that date been 're-established.' Nevertheless though this account gives us no direct information about the famous dance, it does indirectly, I think, allow us to conjecture how one or more of its figures may have been formed. For in the article headed 'For the Easter Dances,' in the chapter on 'The Easter Festival' of this ordinary, we read:

Nones are said, and then all go to the cloister, and take hold of one another; the small[est] choir-boy walks first and holds the cope² of the oldest canon, and thus following one another they make three circuits round the cloister (p. 1948).

So they walked it at St. Stephen's, in 1647, by which time the dance had become a simple procession; but even this procession was suppressed in 1738 (p. 1953). This relic of the old custom was performed for the last time in 1737, and as the writer of the Letter was probably an eye-witness of the ceremony, the description he gives of the last vestiges of the ancient rite are of additional interest. He writes:

At one o'clock in the afternoon the ceremony was announced by the ringing of the smaller bells and of the great bell in peals. A lesson was read in choir consisting of the rest of the homily for matins. Nones were then sung, and after this the *bergerette*

¹ Edited by Nicolas Billaret, who was canon and sub-cantor of St. Stephen's.

² As to this, we learn from a note appended to the Letter that: "The canons of the metropolitan church of Besançon have the privilege of wearing in choir the alb [or surplice] and violet cope [generally a richly embroidered mantle] like that of bishops. They call it *cappe* from the Latin *cappa*. In winter it is lined with ermine and in summer with crimson taffeta. This privilege was granted them by Pope Paul V., by a bull dated July 1, 1609."

began in the following order. The oldest dignitary walked first by himself, followed by a choir-boy who carried the end of the former's cope. All the other canons came next, one after the other, each of them followed by a little page bearing the train of his cope. [Then] after the sub-cantor came two chaplains who walked together. They all passed into the cloister, of which they made three circuits—in rainy weather under the arches. Meantime, the musicians, grouped in one of the corners of the cloister, played and sang a kind of Latin canticle, beginning: 'On this day of God, let the Galileans now say how the Jews did to death their King,' etc.¹ The two chaplains repeated the same couplets in plain-song. On completing the three circuits, they sang the 'Rejoice, Queen of Heaven,' and intoned the psalms *Miserere* and *De Profundis* for [the soul of] a canon of St. Stephen's, named Hugues Garnier, who was the founder of the repast² (pp. 1953, 54).

If these two accounts of the relic of the ancient ceremony are compared, it will be seen that they differ somewhat from one another. In the later description the company is divided into couples, canons and choristers, paired in inverse order of dignity or seniority, the oldest and youngest leading. It is possible, I suggest, that this procession from choir to cloister may be the remnant of one of the figures of the original dance in the choir itself; for, as we saw in the last paper (p. 97 n. 2), Rollux tells us that the labyrinth-dance, or at any rate one of its figures, was danced by two rows of performers one over against the other, the end of either file being taken by the leaders. Moreover, as the privilege of the cope was not granted to the canons of Besançon till 1609, the train-bearing

¹ This must have been a very ancient piece, for it was only in the earliest centuries that the Christians were called Galileans.

² This cannot mean that Hugues Garnier originated the repast, but that he was a benefactor who had left a certain sum of money for defraying its expenses. Prior to his bequest the expense of the *bergerette* banquet had most probably been defrayed in the same way as that of the *pelote* of Auxerre, as described in the last paper, namely by the last newly-received canon for the time being.

most probably formed no part of the original ceremony. As, however, we know from the *pelote* dance at Auxerre that the canons there covered their heads with the poke of their amices during the ceremony, as described in the last paper, and as the amice had two ends hanging down behind, it may be that originally the choristers took hold of these 'streamers' in the dance. If we now turn to the earlier account, we may at first sight interpret the 'taking hold of one another' as meaning simply that the choir-boys took hold of the copes of the canons, and the walking first of the smallest chorister as simply noting the reversal of the usual order of procession of the choir-boys among themselves. But as they do not 'take hold of one another' until they get to the cloister, this account may possibly refer to a different arrangement from the train-bearing procession composed of couples. That this is not purely conjectural is seen from the ordinary of 1662 (p. 251 above), where it is distinctly stated that the canons 'held hands' in the dance. If then the canons held hands, they were grouped together in some figure, and this could have been none other than a ring or circle, as we have previously learned, and as in the dance in the 'Hymn of Jesus' in *The Acts of John*. I even venture to think that the vague phrase 'holding hands' may stand for a still more elaborate figure of the original dance: The canons held hands in a ring; behind them was a second ring composed of choir-boys, each paired with a canon, while in the centre was the chief dignitary, the senior in rank, with the smallest chorister in attendance. After this the circle broke up, and the oldest and youngest led the way in a serpentine or labyrinthine dance, which had finally degenerated into the three circuits of the cloister. If

these conjectures are in any way legitimate, we should thus recover traces of three figures of the ancient dance of the *choros*, or dancing-band or company, in the *orchestra*, or dancing place, in the church itself.

As to the probable nature and origin of the *bergerette* or ceremonial dance of Besançon, therefore, I see no insurmountable difficulty in classing it generally with the *pelote* of Auxerre, and assigning to it the same conjectural heredity.

The ball-dance of Auxerre, the ball-throwing at Narbonne and elsewhere, and the round-dance at Besançon and in other dioceses, however, were severally parts only of an ancient Easter rite, for they were all closely associated with a ceremonial repast or sacred meal. And as this essay would not be complete without some account of its nature and probable origin, we will begin with a description of the *collatio* or *merenda* (or *commessation*) at Auxerre and Narbonne which was omitted from the previous paper.

THE GROLIA OF AUXERRE.

The Latin MS. from which Lebeuf¹ extracted the oldest account of the *pelota* ceremony, informs us that at the repast or banquet :

All the canons of the chapter, as well as the chaplains and officials, together with certain of the more distinguished citizens, used to sit on benches in the 'corona' [? the chapter-house] or in the orchestra [in the cathedral itself], and all without exception were served with wafers,² altar-breads,³ sweetmeats,⁴ and cakes,⁵

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 922; cp. QUEST, vol. iv. no. 1, p. 98.

² *Nebulæ* (Fr. *nieules* or *niules*), very thin cakes or biscuits.

³ *Oblatæ* (Fr. *oublées* or *oublies*), used both for the consecrated hosts and for similar very thin breads. In feudal times, on certain days, such oblates were offered by vassals and subordinates to their lords; this custom was subsequently changed to the payment of a small sum of money. Cp. Dufresne (*s.v.* 'oblata'), quoting from Martinus (*Tract. de antiq. Eccles. Disciplina in div. Officiis celebranda*, p. 311), who, in treating of the Lord's Supper, refers

and the rest of the pastries, together with a stew of minced and seasoned boar, venison and hare; and white and red wine was served, but in temperate and modest quantities, that is to say, the cups were filled thrice. During the repast the reader intoned a festal homily from the chair or pulpit [according as the meal was taken in the chapter-house or nave].

It further appears that this banquet was known as *grolia* or *la grolée*.¹ For a Latin statute of 1553, in the cathedral archives of Auxerre, ran as follows²:

Seeing that it has been the custom at the yearly solemn festivals . . . that the repast (*refectio*) called *la grolée* should be provided, and seeing that this custom has been omitted by certain, it was resolved that a newly-received canon who has not yet provided the said repast of bread and wine, called *la grolée*, shall be required to make arrangements for it and supply the said refectio, which shall consist of at least bread and wine, and if he likes of more provisions.

From this we learn that the repast was a feature not only of the famous Easter *pclota* ceremony, but also of the great feasts of the year; that it had been neglected, probably on the score of expense, if the account of the good fare in the above-quoted Latin MS. is typical, and that the reform threw back to the minimum, the original simplest custom of partaking together of bread and wine in common, in which connection it is important to note the phrase in the MS. "all without exception were served." Now in the case of the *pclota* ceremony this common meal was

to an ancient custom in the cathedral of Besançon as follows: "Meantime, while a hymn is being sung, unleavened breads, wafers and oblates are brought in and blessed by the bishop or dean, thus: 'Bless, O Lord, this creature of bread,' etc."

¹ *Bellariola*, small sweets or confectioneries.

² *Fructeta*, a word of uncertain meaning; may be tarts.

¹ Barthélemy (*op. cit. loc. cit.* p. 451, n. 1) says that there was a dainty called *grolée* or *roulée* still in vogue in Burgundy in his day, i.e. 1855.

² See Dufresne (*s.v.* '*grolia*' = Fr. *grolée*, *grolée*), who gives the reference *Probat. Hist. Autiss.* p. 221, col. 1.

served in the church itself; it was, therefore, originally not a lay banquet, but a sober, though festive, ceremonial repast; modesty and sobriety were strictly enjoined, and the age-long custom of the community-meal (*cœnobium*), from the days of the Essenes onward, was kept up with the lection of the homily of the day (originally a portion of scripture), during the meal, from the MS. Homiliary, as we are told by Lebeuf, who probably had had the very volume in his hands. Lebeuf concludes by saying that in his day (1726), not only the very name *pelote* was unknown to the people, though still in use among the clergy for a certain annual money payment made to them, but that the public had lost all memory of the original meaning of the term *roulée* or *grolée* as well, though it was still in use for certain presents given to the children at Easter (p. 925).

THE EASTER MEAL AT NARBONNE.

The Latin rubric in a 15th century MS. of Narbonne¹ unfortunately gives us but a meagre account of the Easter Monday banquet which was at that date celebrated in the archbishop's palace, but anciently in all probability in the cathedral itself. The pertinent sentence of this rubric reads:

There tables are to be laid, and the servants of the archbishop are to serve spiced bread² with other dishes, and wine to follow.

Here the Latin *pigmentum* which I have translated

¹ Cp. QUEST, *ibid.* p. 101.

² *Pigmentum*, lit. simply any kind of spice. In late Latin, as we have already seen, the term was also used for a sweet and fragrant drink made of wine, honey and different spices (cp. *s.v.* Maigne d'Arnis, *Lex. ad Script. med. et inf. Lat.*, Paris, 1858). But, as has already been pointed out in another case (p. 251 above), *pigmentum* can scarcely mean a drink or cordial or hippocras in this instance, for it is classed with other dishes. *Ypocrasium*, hypocrass or hippocras, was originally a medical cordial of wine and spices, called after the famous physician Hippocrates. *Pigmentum* is here most probably simply *pain d'épices*, later with us the homely gingerbread.

by 'spiced bread' is a difficulty; it seems to me, however, to be supported by a comparison with the 'dishes' of the Auxerre *grolée* and further reinforced by the following information.

THE EASTER REPAST OF NEVERS.

In the 15th century ordinary of the church of Nevers, the following interesting regulation was to be read :

On the second Easter festival [*i.e.* Easter Monday], before vespers as on Easter-day. On the return of the procession, 'Say unto us, Mary' is sung at the font. And if there be any newly-received canons, they have to provide good wine and pastries¹ in the chapter-house for the whole choir [*i.e.* presumably canons, chaplains and choristers], and it is then [*i.e.* after singing at the font] that the procession goes there.²

What these 'pastries' were is somewhat of a puzzle. Lebeuf (p. 496) thinks that the term *chenetellus* is deserving of a place in Dufresne's *Glossary*, and conjectures that it was a 'dainty,' something like an oblate or waffle (*gaufre*) of the same shape as what in several places were still called *échenots* or *échenex*; what this shape was, however, he does not say.

THE ASCENSION DAY COLLATION OF TOUL.

The Latin statutes of the chapter of Toul, on the Moselle, however, which enumerate the meals ('colla-

¹ *Chenetelli*. The forms *chenetrellus* and *chenellus* are also found.

² *Lebeuf, ibid.* p. 495. In the archæology of the processional, the 'pomp' or 'procession' of the *choros* played a prominent part, both in the theatre and also in the mysteries. Processionals, that is processional dances, were one of the technical terms of choral dancing, as may be seen from the list which Philo gives of the sacred dances of the Therapeuts (Philo, *D.V.C.* xi; P. 902, M. 484, Conybeare, pp. 127ff.). In this connection it is of interest to note that Dufresne (*s.v.*) gives as one of the meanings of *chorea* (dance) the "tour (*ambitus*) of the choir [or company] generally to the different chapels and shrines," and also of "the procession made round the choir"—*i.e.* originally the dancing-place.

tions') the canons still took in common in the 15th century, though recording nothing distinctive for Easter, give the following note on the repast that was taken at the bishop's palace on Ascension Day :

At this meal in former times they drank out of cups of madre, and large hosts, *chenetrelli* and apples were eaten.¹

Now if, as we shall see later, the shape of some of these eatables was most probably symbolical, seeing that the hosts were round and the apples spherical, the remaining and distinctive cakes or pastries, confectioneries or tarts, should pre-supposedly also have had some special shape. This conjecture is justified by an item of information in the later editions of Dufresne (s.v. '*chenetrellus*'), where we are told that a triangular or three-cornered pastry (or tart), called *échaudé* in French, was still (i.e. in the forties of the eighteenth century) known as *canesteau* in Belgium.

THE EASTER REPASTS AT BESANÇON.

We now return to Besançon and to the Letter to the *Mercure de France* of September, 1742. The ritual of Besançon was of comparatively early date. Though the earliest existing form was a redaction of the 11th century when Hugo I. was archbishop (p. 1946), the original rite was said to go back to the days of St. Protadius, the twenty-fourth bishop of Besançon, c. 612—624 A.D. (p. 1935). In this 11th century ritual it is stated that :

On Easterday the archbishop used to invite his clergy to dinner² (not only the canons of the cathedral, but also those of

¹ *Lebeuf*, loc. cit. p. 496.

² Originally, doubtless, in the cathedral itself. The far-off echoes of this ancient custom still continued at Besançon in 1742, and the writer of the Letter regards them as the vestiges of the common life which was formerly so religiously observed in the ancient chapters of the diocese. At all the pontifical feasts, the archbishop invited the canons of the cathedral to dinner.

the other collegiate churches who had in those days to assist at the episcopal mass). When all were seated at the table, the first ceremony was the blessing of a roast lamb.¹ Thereafter the vicar-general enjoined the verse, 'Let us feast with unleavened bread,' etc., and all continued [with him in this grace] with much modesty. Then dinner was served and eaten while they listened to the lection. After dinner they went to church to return thanks and sang nones. After nones they went to the cloister and there washed their hands, and each was given to drink (pp. 1935, 86).

It was after this, as we have seen above (p. 251) that the ancient *bergerette* dance took place, and therefore we have to distinguish between this dinner (*prandium*) and the repast or supper (*collatio*) that followed. With regard to the latter, it is to be noted that the Latin ritual of Ste. Marie Magdaleine's, dated 1582, states that this repast was then served in the chapter-house—

together with red wine and claret² and apples called *carpendus* in the vernacular (p. 1939).

In another Latin ordinary of the same church, dated about 1662, we are told that at this banquet:

They drink thrice and *carpendu* apples (*poma carpendorum*) are distributed (p. 1940).

Though in the MS. Latin ritual of about 1400 (cp. p. 251 above) there is mention of spiced bread and wine only, it is evident that, as at Toul (p. 262 above), the

At four of these festivals, namely Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the feast of St. John the Evangelist, the prelate had to give a dinner to the music master and eight choir-boys. On the same occasions the dignitaries and canons had similarly to give a dinner to the chaplains, who were at Besançon called *familiars*, and to the musicians. These latter repasts were called *les hôtes*; but in the writer's time they had for several years been commuted into a sum of money.

¹ This custom was long after continued, though in a modified form, when a roast lamb was blessed at the altar, and then cut up for distribution to the clergy. At the time of writing, however, even this modified rite had been discontinued, and instead of the blessing and dividing up and distribution of the lamb, the celebrant, before post-communion, blessed small lamb-patties which were distributed among the clergy at the end of mass.

² *Rubro et clero*. This may mean simply 'red and white wine.' But *clarum* most probably stands for *claretum*, and claret, as we shall see later on (p. 267), originally meant a spiced drink.

distribution of apples was one of the chief features of this ceremonial collation; moreover, in addition to the wine, there was a special beverage, probably as a loving-cup, called *clarum* in the 1582 ritual of St. Mary's, but *bergerette* in an ordinary of 1662 of the same church, for there we read:

On completing the three turns [in the cloister], all the clergy, together with the singers, go to the chapel of St. Martin, and there take supper, at which they drink *bergerette* three times, and wine twice, namely, first of all and last of all. And before drinking, one of the choir boys bears a silver cup filled with wine to the oldest canon, either in length of service or senior in rank, saying in a loud voice: '*Benedicite*'; and the chaplains (*familliaires*) respond in the same loud voice [in French]: 'God preserve the city.' And then the said senior canon says [in Latin]: 'May the King of angels bless the cup of His servants'; and the said chaplains answer: 'Amen!'

The number of times of drinking the cup clearly signifies a ceremonial and, most probably, symbolical observance.

THE EASTER BANQUET AT ROME.

Whether the writer of the Besançon Letter is correct in his surmise that the origin of these ceremonial meals must be traced solely to the Church of Rome, is quite an open question, for they may have been quite 'catholic' in the early church. But however that may be, most interesting and detailed evidence of the Paschal ceremonial common supper is to be found in the old Roman ordinaries, and most clearly in the 12th century *Ordo Romanus XII*.¹ The

¹ See Mabillon (J.)—Germain (M.), *Museum Italicum* (Paris, 1687), pp. 186, 187; Migne, *P. L.* tom. 78, coll. 1079, 80. J. Kisters, *Studien zu Mabillons römischen Ordines* (Münster i. Westf., 1905), says that the text is printed in Migne 'unaltered,' but this is not correct, as may be seen by referring to Fabre (P.)—Duchesne (L.), *Le Liber Censuum de l'Eglise romaine* (Paris, 1910), pp. 298ff., where the text is reproduced from the still extant original MS. preserved in the Vatican.

author, or rather redactor, of this Ordinary was Cardinal Cenci (Cencius de Sabellis), who was Papal Treasurer under Celestin III. (Pope 1191-1198), and wrote his MS. in 1192. In it, under § xv., 'What the Lord Pope has to do on Easterday,' we read as follows :

ORDO ROMANUS XII.

When mass, however, is over [the Pontiff] is crowned, and returns with the procession to the palace. . . . And after receiving homage from the cardinal of St. Laurence's, he is conducted, by the first and second notaries, wearing his mitre, into the great Basilica Leoniana,¹ which is called Casa Major. There eleven seats are set ready, round the Pontiff's table, for five [cardinal] priests, five deacons, and the archdeacon, and there also the couch of the Pontiff himself, according to custom, in the figure of the eleven apostles reclining round the table of Christ. The Pontiff crosses the church and enters the treasury. Thence, after the donative has been received by the treasurer in a silver cup and distributed as on the day of the Lord's Nativity, he rises and is conducted by the head seneschal and the butler to the place which is called [the Place] of the Couches.² And there a roast lamb is blessed by the junior cardinal priest; and thereafter [the Pontiff] returns to the couch made ready for him at the table. Thereon the Pontiff, taking a morsel of the lamb, offers it

¹ Built by Leo III. (Pope 795-814).

² '*Cubitorum*,' lit. 'elbows.' Fabre-Duchesne, p. 315 n., say that this place seems to have been the 'hall' of the eleven couches (*accubita*), which was built, like the basilica itself, by Leo III. (*L. P. t. 2*, pp. 11 and 40 n. 52). It was, they conjecture, an additional banqueting hall, for the Pope could not have entertained either in the basilica or in the dining-room (*triclinium*) of Leo III. all the dignitaries and corporations which were by custom his guests on the days of high festival (*coronationes*). They, therefore, suppose that after a brief appearance in this 'Hall of the Couches,' he returned to the *triclinium* proper, at which only personages of the highest quality had a seat. Now though Maigne d'Arnis (*Lex. s.v.*), following Dufresne, does say that *accubitus* or *accubita* were anciently called *triclinia*, and that they were adjuncts of the larger sacred edifices in which the Pontiffs, after the sacred rites were over, used to banquet the most distinguished of the clergy and laity, the text before us most clearly states that the 'table' was in the church itself. There is, therefore, no question of a 'dining-room.' There was a certain spot in the church known as the 'Place of the Couches' where the 'table' was set. Most probably, as we shall see later on in another instance (p. 271 below), the 'table' was in the shape of the ancient *triclinium*, that is it consisted of three tables, two parallel ones joined by a third.

to the chief treasurer sitting on a bench facing his own couch, saying: 'What thou doest, do quickly; as he [*sc.* Judas] took it for damnation, do thou take it for remission.' The rest of the lamb he distributes to those [*i.e.*, the eleven] sitting at table, and to the others standing round. In the middle of the banquet one of the cardinal deacons rises, at the bidding of the archdeacon, and reads at table. And when the banquet is over, the singers chant a sequence suitable to Easter, at the bidding of the Pontiff. Thereafter he goes down to the Lateran church to vespers, as is set forth in the antiphonary. After the three vespers have been celebrated—in the basilica of the Saviour, and at the font and at the holy cross,—he returns to the portico of St. Venantius. There he takes his seat, together with the cardinal bishops and the rest of the orders [of the cardinalate] and others both of the clergy and laity sitting on the ground on a carpet. Thereafter claret and wine¹ are served to him and to all those standing round by the major-domo and butlers.

Meanwhile the choir-master rises together with the singers and chants the following sequence in Greek²: 'To us this day a sacred passover has been displayed, a new passover, a holy passover, a mystic passover—most august passover of Christ the Redeemer, blameless passover, great passover, passover of the faithful, a passover that openeth to us the gates of paradise, a passover that makes all mortals new. Christ guard the new Pope!'³ And when this has been chanted they all return to their various occupations.

In order the better to check the details of this extraordinarily interesting Easter ceremony at Rome, we will quote the parallel passages of Ordo XI,⁴ which

¹ The later printed texts have *claretum vinum*, but the original MS. reads quite clearly *claretum et vinum*, and this is confirmed by comparison with Ordo XI. Now 'claret' was originally 'a sweet or spiced wine, hippocras' (Maigne d'Arnis—Dufresne). Here then we have again the characteristic drink of two kinds as at Besançon.

² The Greek of the MS. is decidedly barbarous in parts; but the fact that the sequence was still sung in Greek at Rome is a most interesting relic of high antiquity.

³ *Papa* (Πάπας), originally an onomatopoeetic word for 'father.' For the gods and saviour-gods who bore this title in antiquity see Höfer's art. 'Papas' in Roscher's *Lex.* The high priest of the god, *e.g.* of Attis, generally bore the same title.

⁴ For text see Mabillon, *op. cit.* p. 141 Migne, *ibid.* coll. 1044, 45 (also printed apart in tom. 179, coll. 751, 52).

was redacted, some fifty years previously (namely in 1143), by Benedict, canon of St. Peter's, in the pontificate of Celestin II. In it the Easter Banquet is described as follows (§§ 48, 49):

ORDO ROMANUS XI.

After mass . . . the notaries . . . conduct the Pontiff on that day to the great Basilica of Leo, to the treasury. There [sc. in the church] are set ready eleven seats and one chair, round the table of the Lord Pontiff, and his own couch is also fitly made ready—in the figure of the twelve apostles round the table of Christ when they ate the passover. There they recline on their elbows at supper, five cardinals [sc. cardinal priests] and five deacons and the archdeacon, after the donative has previously been distributed in the treasury, together with the 'hands,' as on the day of the Lord's Nativity. Thence he rises and comes to the place called [the Place] of the Couches, where a roast lamb is blessed. He blesses it and returns to the couch made ready for him at the table. The chief treasurer is seated on the chair in front of the couch. Then the Lord Pontiff cuts off a portion of the lamb, and first offers it to the chief treasurer, saying: 'What thou doest, do quickly; as he took it for damnation, do thou take it for remission,' and he puts it into his mouth, while the latter takes and eats it. The rest of the lamb he gives to the eleven sitting at table and to any others he pleases, and thus all eat it up. Half way through the banquet, on the direction of the archdeacon, one of the deacons rises and reads the lection. Then, on the bidding of the Lord Pontiff, the singers chant a sequence suitable to Easter, to the accompaniment of the organ.² When the sequence is finished, they go and kiss the feet of the Pontiff,

¹ Cp. § 22: "On that day of the Lord's Nativity the Lord Pope gives to all the senior ranks a 'hand' (*manus*), that is a double donative—namely to the prefect 20 pounds and a 'hand,' to the chief of the notaries 4 pounds and a 'hand,' etc.

² *Modulatis organis*. The writer of the Besançon Letter, who quotes part of the above, comments that this phrase probably refers to the simple contrapuntal accompaniment of those days, which consisted of little else than chords in thirds and fifths. In this he follows the explanation given to the term *organa* in Lebeuf's *Traité* (Paris, 1741). Lebeuf was apparently the first to explain the correct meaning of the term when used in chanting (p. 1933 n.).

who gives them a cup filled with a potion. This they drink and receive from the treasurer a gold piece.¹

When the banquet is over, the Pontiff goes down to the basilica of the Saviour, to the sacristy, where he rests for a space. Thence rising, after nones have been said, he enters [the Lateran Church] for vespers, in the order set forth in the antiphonary. When the three vespers are finished—in the basilica of the Saviour, and at the font and at the holy cross—the Lord Pontiff returns to the portico which has been made ready for him. He seats himself on the faldstool which has been set there, with the other orders round him. Then the majordomo, with the other servitors, in due order, prepares the potion before the Lord Pontiff; and [while this is being done] he drinks wine himself and all the others drink it. Meanwhile the singers rise and chant this sequence in Greek: 'To us this day a sacred passover.'² When the sequence is finished, they go and kiss the feet of the Pontiff and he gives them the cup of the potion to drink. So all depart in joy.

The cup was evidently something more than a relic of the passover-cup, for that consisted simply of wine; it was apparently a loving-cup. How then had it become a *potio* (*ypocrasium*, *bergeretta*, *clarum*, *claretum*)? It at once recurs to the mind that in the more primitive forms of the mysteries intoxicating draughts were frequent; in the higher forms also potions and philtres were used. May there, however, be here a contrast or transference of symbolism, as in the eating of the lamb, a contrast between the draught given to the crucified and the loving-cup given to the faithful? Is it possible even that we have here an early conflation of the Jewish passover-cup with the soporific potion given to crucified criminals in Roman times and to those condemned to stoning in Rabbinical days, to ease the pain of their sufferings, of which we

¹ The two last sentences seem to be a 'doublet, judging by what follows.

² The first words only are given in Latin transliteration, namely, '*Pascha ieron imin simeron.*'

have a reversal or complement in the 'prophetical' cup of gall and vinegar of the evangelists? This speculation may be very much of a drawing of a bow at a venture; still the contrast of *damnatio* and *remissio*, in eating the lamb, is suggestive.

In any case the Easter Banquet at Rome in the 12th century is significant enough in other respects, and doubtless goes back to a very high antiquity, though of course in a less elaborate form. There is no space, unfortunately, in the present paper to carry these researches back to the early middle ages in detail, or to the still earlier centuries. But before leaving the subject we may record an interesting example of the practice of the 10th century in Germany. St. Ulric was bishop of Augsburg 966-977, and this is how he kept Eastertide¹:

THE EASTER FEAST OF ST. ULRIC.

After the solemnities of the masses had been performed in the customary manner at eventide, and when the Body of Christ had been distributed, and the sacred vestments laid aside—on that day, the table being laid for refectio[n], [St. Ulric] took his seat together with a large number [of his monks]; and when all had been copiously refreshed, he let them return with joy to their cells.

When then the greatly-longed-for and holy Paschal day is come, after prime he went into the church of St. Ambrose² (where on Good Friday he laid the Body of Christ, with a stone placed over it), and there with a few clergy he celebrated the mass of the Holy Trinity. When this mass had been celebrated, he headed the procession of the clergy, who had meanwhile assembled, in the portico adjoining the same church, wearing their vestments of

¹ See *Vita Udalricii Augustani Episcopi* (by Gerard the priest), c. 4; Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Bened. Sæc. X.*, p. 11; Migne, tom. 185, coll. 1020, 21. The text is somewhat barbarous.

² It used to stand near the cathedral but has long disappeared from memory.

highest ceremony. And himself carrying the Body of Christ and the Gospel, and with tapers and incense, accompanied with an appropriate salutation of verses sung by the boys, he proceeded through the court to the church of St. John the Baptist, where he sang terce. Thence, with antiphons composed most fitly in honour of this day, he finally came to the cathedral¹ to celebrate mass, in most handsome procession, the clergy walking two and two according to rank. And so after mass had been most devoutly and religiously sung, while all are receiving the sacraments of Christ and returning to their homes, he went to meat (*cibus*). There he found three tables laid with every adornment—one at which he was wont to sit with his guests, another for the clergy of the cathedral and a third for the congregation of St. Afra.² Accordingly, when the food had been sanctified, he distributed to all pieces of lamb and morsels of bacon,³ which had been blessed during the solemnities of the masses, and then only did he himself partake of food with them with all joy. Moreover, at the appointed time the musicians and singers arrived (there were so many of them that they almost filled the space between the nave and choir⁴ standing in ranks), and performed three measures in concert. And thus, with joy increased by the music, the canons, meanwhile at the bidding of the bishop asking for and receiving the loving-cup,⁵ chanted the first respond about the resurrection of the Lord. And when this loving-cup had been drunk, the congregation of St. Afra at the second table⁶ did likewise. But when evening drew on, he bade them give cups to himself and those sitting with him [at the chief table], and asked all to drink the third loving-cup in charity; and when that cup had been drunk, all the clergy together, with joy, chanted the third respond.

¹ Lit. 'to the dome'—*ad tuomum* (Old Ger. *Thuom*, the current *Dom*).

² The regular clergy of those days occupied the church of St. Afra, now the church of St. Ulrich.

³ At Auxerre also boar's flesh entered into the *menu* (p. 260 above).

⁴ *Intercapedinem aulae*. If this is the correct translation, it confirms the conjecture in the last paper (p. 98 n. 4) that the orchestra was between the choir and nave. It follows that the banquet was held in the church.

⁵ The writer of the Besançon Letter, who quotes this paragraph, translates *charitas* as a 'gift' (*donne*) simply; but G. Grandauer, *Das Leben Oudalrichs* (Berlin, 1891), p. 33 n. 1, says it was a measure of wine, as a love gift.

⁶ The third really. The three tables were most probably arranged in the form of a *triclinium* as at Rome.

And when this had been sung, the canons rose for the singing of the hymn, that thus with fit preparation they might go to vespers. And when vespers were over, the bishop with his guests and guards used to return to his own house amid general rejoicing.

THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE BANQUETS.

Here the term *charitas*, which the context compels us to translate as loving-cup, at once reminds us of its Greek equivalent *agapē*, and we have at last found a direct link with early antiquity and custom. The mediæval Easter Banquets were evidently in part ceremonial and elaborate relics of the primitive Love-feasts. It would be far too lengthy an undertaking to attempt here even an outline of the history of the famous Agapæ in the early church, concerning which there is great difference of opinion. But before closing the present sketch of these interesting remnants and vestiges of ancient custom in the mediæval churches, it may be of service to point out that as some of the things eaten at these repasts and banquets were of peculiar shapes, they were probably of a symbolical nature originally. Some other element, therefore, must be sought for in these syncretic customs, besides those of the Jewish passover and the original simple love-feast. This other element, as we might expect, is in highest probability to be traced to wide-spread sacrificial folk- and mystery-customs. Nothing was more common in antiquity than the eating of symbolical food and drinking of symbolical drink on feast days. For the victims or their special organs were gradually substituted pastry models or cakes of many kinds (see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, 1060-85). Also among the symbols of the Orphic and Isiac mysteries, for instance, we find mention of a number of sorts of cakes,

including sesame cakes, pyramid cakes, globular and round cakes covered with 'knobs' of some kind, and also mulberries and apples.¹ It may, therefore, not be owing purely to coincidence that we can at once parallel the sesame cakes with our spiced bread, and, more strikingly still, the characteristic shapes of the mystery-cakes with those with which we are already familiar—namely the round hosts or wafers and the three-cornered pastries, for if globular and round go together so equally do pyramidal and three-cornered, the pyramid being on a triangular base.²

But most interesting of all, perhaps, was the chief of the Bacchic cakes, representing a heart, for according to the mystery-legend, when the young god (Iacchos) was torn to pieces and eaten by the Titans, his heart alone was saved by his divine sister, and from this centre of immortality the god came again to life and birth. The thin crust of the 'cakes' representing this *sacrum* was made of cheese, honey and flour, and these 'dumplings' were stuffed—probably with minced meat.³ Now as a round pine-cone also symbolised the heart of Bacchus, I have wondered whether the apples⁴ may not also have borne the same significance; and if so, whether they were of any special colour—say dark red. In that case, if we also knew what the 'carpendu' apples of Toul and Besançon were, we might have another very striking parallel. In any case, we have the direct parallel of the apples.

¹ Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 22 (P. p. 11); Arnobius, l. 5, c. 19.

² It is, however, to be noted that the ancients themselves were in dispute over the derivation of this cake-name, some thinking that it means simply 'wheat-cake' (ἐκ πυρῶν). It was certainly made of wheat and honey, but probably Athenagoras (xiv. 647B) is right when he says we must distinguish between the 'pyramis' and the 'pyramosus.'

³ See M. Höfler's communication on 'φθoίς,' in Wünsch's *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (Aug. 1912), xv. 4. 638-641.

⁴ Generally connected with the apples of the Hesperides.

Finally we have mention of a certain spiced bread and drink in the mysteries of Bacchus.¹

All these symbolic objects were concealed in the mystic boxes, chests or caskets. And not only were there cakes, and even 'iced' or sugared cakes, but also sweet-meats (*bellaria*=*τραγήματα*) in peculiar shapes, with which we may parallel the sweet-meats (*bellariola*) of the Auxerre *grolée*. Such pastries or sweet-meats, for instance, in the shape of a lyre, of a bow or of arrows (the distinctive symbols of the god), were used in the Apollinian mysteries and offered in little boxes; these were all called 'oblation'² sweets or cakes, and this tempts us to compare them with the 'oblates' of Auxerre, Besançon, and elsewhere, and even finally, perhaps, in some indirect manner, with the donative 'hands' at Rome, for Dufresne refers to a certain '*manus Christi*' that was made of sugar. All this cannot, I think, be due entirely to coincidence; it is, on the contrary, sufficiently striking to deserve further investigation.

G. R. S. MEAD.

¹ Cp. Lidd. and Scott s.v. *τρίμμα*, and Hesychius s.v. *ἐντρίπον*.

² *Ferta* (cp. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 705).

NOTE.

THE DIVINE DANCE ACCORDING TO PLOTINUS.

THOSE of our readers who have been interested in the paper on 'The Sacred Dance of Jesus,' may perhaps like to glance through the following version of a striking passage of Plotinus' famous treatise 'On the Good or the One' (*En. VI. ix. 8*):

"If, then, a soul is conscious of itself in that other mode of time, it also knows that its true motion is not in a straight line,—save when it breaks from it; but that its natural motion is in a circle, as it were, not round some thing external to itself, but round a centre in itself. Now the centre is the that from which the circle is. The soul, then, will be moved round that from which it is; on this it will depend, contending unto it, as all souls should. The souls of gods tend ever towards their centre, and through their tending thitherwards are gods; for that which is in union with its centre is a god, whereas that which is far removed from it is man—[not the true man but man] the manifold and brute. This, then, which is, as though it were, the centre of the soul is what we seek; though we should understand there is some other That in which, as though it were, all centres meet. And we must not forget, moreover, that the centre of this circle of the soul is an analogy. For the soul is not a circle in the same way as is the figure [in geometry], but in that the primordial nature of the soul is 'in-itself' and 'round-itself,' and in that souls depend on something like a centre, and all the more when they are separate from body in a state of wholeness. But now, whereas a part of us is under the dominion of the body—as though a man should have his feet in water, but in the remainder of his body is above it—it surely is by that which is beyond the part submerged in body that we are, at the centre of ourselves, united with the That which is, as though it were, the Centre of all centres,—just as we make the centres of all the largest circles of a sphere coincident with the one centre of the sphere containing them.

"Now if souls were corporeal circles and not psychic ones, they all would meet in space in the one centre of the sphere, and

wheresoever that centre was, they would be round it. But since the souls are in themselves intelligible things and that One Centre is beyond intelligence, we must conceive the union of the soul with the Supreme is brought about by other powers than that by means of which the power of the intelligence is made to be one with its object,—yea by a more intimate conjunction than even the immediate presence, in likeness and in sameness, of intelligence with its object, and the union with a cognate nature with nothing keeping them apart. For bodies are prevented from communion with other bodies, but incorporeal beings are not kept apart by bodies. Souls are accordingly not kept apart from one another by space, but by otherness and difference. When, therefore, otherness is not present, the things that are not other are present with each other. That Centre, then, which has no otherness is ever present; and we are present with It when we are free from otherness.

“It does not yearn for us, so as to move round us, but we yearn after It, so as to move round It, and ever round It, although we do not always keep our eyes on It. But as a choros out of tune, keeps dancing round the choros-leader, when turned to face the play or audience, but when it turns again to him, sings well and dances truly round him; so we for ever keep a-dance round Him, and should it be that this should cease entirely for us, we should no longer be. We do not always keep our eyes on Him; but when we do, then do we win to Perfectness and Peace, and are no longer out of tune, but truly dance round Him the Dance Divine.”



